THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL.

(No 381.)

JULY 1807.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

PUBLISHED BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME.

LONGMAN, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON;
AND W. ROBINSON, EDINBURGH.
BERTHAIRE GALIGNANI, 224 RUE DE RIVOLI, PARIS.
EDWARD SCOTT, PUBLICATION OFFICE, NEW YORK.

1807.

The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal.

vol - 186.

1897.

Librarian
Uttarpara Joykrishna Public Library
Govt. of West Bengal

The Edinburgh Review Advertiser.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Volume III.

LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. By Professor W. M. SLOANE, L.H.D. Illustrated. In 20 parts at 4*s.* net, each; or in Four Volumes at 21*s.* net, each. (Supplied only in Sets.)

Now ready, Vols. I. and II., and Parts I.–X.

*** Subscriptions (sent through a bookseller) will be received at any time, and the volumes or parts delivered at such intervals as may be convenient to the subscriber.

THE MAKING OF ENGLAND. By J. R. GREEN. In 2 vols globe 8vo. 10*s.* [*Eversley Series.*

Concluding Volume.

THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. By Professor FRIEDRICH RATZEL. Translated from the Second German Edition by A. J. BUTLER, M.A., with Preface by E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L. With Thirty Coloured Plates, Maps, and numerous Illustrations in the Text. In 30 parts at 1*s.* net, each; or in 3 vols. 12*s.* net, each

WORDSWORTH'S POETICAL WORKS. Edited by Prof. KNIGHT With Portrait and Vignette.

POETICAL WORKS Vol VIII (*conclusion*). Globe 8vo. 5*s.*

THE JOURNALS OF DOROTHY WORDSWORTH. 2 vols. globe 8vo. 10*s.* [*Eversley Series.*

ILLUSTRATED STANDARD NOVELS.

NEW VOLUME.

Crown 8vo. cloth extra, antique paper, 3*s.* 6*d.*; 'Peacock' Edition, gilt sides, back and edges, 5*s.*

THE PIRATE AND THE THREE CUTTERS. By Captain MARRYAT. Illustrated by E. J. SULLIVAN. With an Introduction by DAVID HANNAY.

SOPHOCLES. Edited by R. Y. TYRRELL, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin. Fcp. 8vo. 5*s.* net. [*Parnassus Library.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO GEOLOGY. By WILLIAM B. SCOTT.

LABORATORY PRACTICE FOR BEGINNERS IN BOTANY. By WILLIAM A. SETCHELL.

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS. By FRANK J. GOODNOW, A.M., LL.D., Professor of Administrative Law in Columbia University, Author of 'Municipal Home Rule.' Extra crown 8vo.

MACMILLAN & CO., Ltd., London.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s NEW BOOKS.

Second Edition Now Ready.

VICTORIA, June 20, 1837—June 20, 1897. By ALFRED AUSTIN, Poet Laureate. 8vo. 6*d*. net.

With Illustrations and Maps, 8vo. 6*s*. 6*d*. net.

WITH THE TURKISH ARMY IN THESSALY. By CLIVE BIGHAM, Special Correspondent of the *Times*, Author of 'A Ride Through Western Asia.'

With Illustrations, 8vo. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.

A RIDE THROUGH WESTERN ASIA. By CLIVE BIGHAM. Part I. ASIA MINOR. Part II. PERSIA, North to South. Part III. TURKISH ARABIA. Part IV. PERSIA, West to East. Part V. CENTRAL ASIA.

TIMES.—'An exceedingly bright and readable account of a journey through countries of great and varied interest.'

Volume II. now ready.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY. By W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Vol. II. The RENAISSANCE and the REFORMATION; Influence of the Court and the Universities. 8vo. 10*s*. net.

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.—'One of the most interesting and valuable publications of the day.'

Globe 8vo. 6*s*.

POEMS. By HORACE SMITH.

TIMES.—'They all show observation, thoughtfulness, and a graceful gift of verse.'

THE ROMANES LECTURE FOR 1897.

MACHIAVELLI. The Romanes Lecture delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, June 2, 1897. By the Right Hon. JOHN MORLEY, M.P., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., Hon. LL.D. Camb. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'A brilliant discourse.'

New Book by PROFESSOR J. P. MAHAFFY.

A SURVEY OF GREEK CIVILISATION. By Professor J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., D.C.L. (Oxon.), Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Extra crown 8vo. 6*s*.

MORNING POST.—'Much has been written by Professor Mahaffy on Greek culture, but in no case has he written more admirably than in the present volume.'

Globe 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

AN OUTLINE OF THE LAW OF LIBEL: being Six Lectures delivered in the Middle Temple Hall during Michaelmas Term, 1896. By W. BLAKE ODGERS, of the Middle Temple, M.A., LL.D., Q.C.

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'The little book is, indeed, so full of good things that it is quite impossible to do justice to it. . . . Deserves a wide and popular circulation.'

New book by B. BOSANQUET.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MORAL SELF. By B. BOSANQUET. Crown 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

TIMES.—'If only for the chapter on "body and soul," in which the results of the most recent discussion of the *crux* of psychology are set out unpretentiously, accurately, and clearly, this little volume would be well worth reading.'

Crown 8vo. 4*s*. 6*d*.

NOTES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY FROM THE COLONIAL POINT OF VIEW. By a NEW ZEALAND COLONIST.

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'Written in a vigorous, lucid style.'

Crown 8vo. 4*s*. 6*d*.

THE INDUCTION COIL IN PRACTICAL WORK; including the Röntgen X Rays. By LEWIS WRIGHT, Author of 'Light: a Course of Experimental Optics,' &c. With Illustrations.

GLASGOW HERALD.—'Will afford sound and most valuable instruction to those workers with the costly induction coil who are not familiar with its theory and construction.'

Crown 8vo. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.

THEORY OF ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. By CHARLES E. CURRY, Ph.D. With a Preface by Professor LUDWIG BOLTZMANN, Ph.D., D.C.L. (OXON.).

MACMILLAN & CO., Ltd., London.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s NEW BOOKS.

SEVEN NOVELS WORTH READING.

Price Six Shillings each.

Second Edition now ready. BY THE AUTHOR OF 'MORICE BUCKLER.'

THE PHILANDERERS. By A. E. W. MASON.

GUARDIAN.—'It is cleverly and well written, with both humour and brilliance.'

BY F. MARION CRAWFORD.

A ROSE OF YESTERDAY.

GLOBE.—'A piece of refined workmanship, fresh from the hands of an artist. . . . "A Rose of Yesterday" is one which will retain its full measure of fragrance and charm.'

TAQUISARA. By F. MARION CRAWFORD.

DAILY NEWS.—'The book will certainly rank among the most notable that Mr. Crawford has written. . . . In an age when so much that is trivial and unsavoury is the subject of fiction, it is a refreshment to the jaded reviewer to meet with a romance so fine as a work of art and so large and generous in aim.'

BY THE AUTHOR OF 'ROBBERY UNDER ARMS.'

MY RUN HOME. By ROLF BOLDREWOOD.

ATHENÆUM.—'It has many of the best qualities of Whyte Melville, the breezy freshness and vigour of Frank Smedley, with the dash and something of the abandon of Lever. . . . His last volume is one of his best.'

THE FALL OF A STAR: a Novel. By Sir WM. MAGNAY, Bart.

OBSERVER.—'Contains some exciting and amusing incidents, and the tragic climax is decidedly novel.'

THE SECRET OF ST. FLOREL. By JOHN BERWICK.

SPEAKER.—'A book to be unreservedly recommended.'

THE CHOIR INVISIBLE. By JAMES LANE ALLEN, Author of 'Summer in Arcady' &c.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—'Mr. Allen's power of character drawing invests the old, old story with renewed and absorbing interest. . . . The fascination of the story lies in great part in Mr. Allen's graceful and vivid style.'

Illustrated Standard Novels.—New Volume.

Crown 8vo. cloth extra, antique paper, 3*s* 6*d*. 'Peacock' Edition, gilt sides, back, and edges, 5*s*.

FRANK MILDMAY. By Captain MARRYAT. Illustrated by H. R. MILLAR. With an Introduction by DAVID HANNAY.

BY HENRY ARTHUR JONES.

THE CASE OF REBELLIOUS SUSAN: a Comedy in Three Acts. By HENRY ARTHUR JONES, Author of 'The Tempter,' 'The Masqueraders,' 'Judah,' &c. Fcp. 8vo. 2*s*. 6d.

Royal 8vo. Two Guineas, net.

THE KLERKSDORP GOLDFIELDS: being a Description of the Geologic and of the Economic Conditions obtaining in the Klerksdorp District, South African Republic. By G. A. DENNY, M.E. and Geologist. Fully illustrated with Plans, Sections, a complete Map of the Klerksdorp District, and a Geological Map of the same Area. Containing:—History, Topography, Geology, Reefs and Companies, Systems of Reduction and Mining, Sampling Ore, Sorting, Variations, Working, Coal and Water Supply, Diamond Drilling.

SOUTH AFRICA.—'It will fill what has been a great gap in the literature of the Transvaal mining industry. Mr. Denny's qualification to handle his subject is undoubted.'

Crown 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

NATIONAL DEFENCES. By Major-General MAURICE, C.B.

[*English Citizen Series.*

MACMILLAN & CO., Ltd., London.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s NEW BOOKS.

Second Edition Revised and Enlarged.

READINGS ON THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE, chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola. By the Honourable WILLIAM WARREN VERNON, M.A., Accademico Corrispondente della Crusca and Cavaliere di S. Maurizio e Lazzaro in Italy. With an Introduction by the late Very Rev. DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S. In two vols. crown 8vo. 24*s.*

MORNING POST.—'Both in the text and in the notes the reader will find in these pages whatever is best and most profitable in the way of illustrating the mind and the meaning of the poet. . . . This most admirable work.'

8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

LECTURES ON THE ACTION OF MEDICINES. Being the Course of Lectures on Pharmacology and Therapeutics delivered at the Medical School of St. Bartholomew's Hospital during the Summer Session of 1896. By T. LAUDER BRUNTON, M.D., D.Sc.Edin., LL.D. Aberd., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Illustrated 8vo. 10*s.* net.

THE YEW-TREES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By JOHN LOWE, M.D.Ed., Honorary Physician to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, &c., &c.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—'He has a genuine enthusiasm for his subject, and has collected his materials from far and near.'

Sixth Thousand now ready.

RHYME? and REASON? By LEWIS CARROLL. With Sixty-five Illustrations by ARTHUR B. FROST, and Nine by HENRY HOLIDAY. Crown 8vo. cloth gilt, 6*s.* net.

Globe 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THIRTY YEARS OF TEACHING. By L. C. MIALL, F.R.S., Professor of Biology in the Yorkshire College. Reprinted, with additions, from the Journal of Education.

Classical Series.—New Volumes.

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC AND THE OLYNTHIACS OF DEMOSTHENES. With Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes, by JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Litt.D., &c. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

EDUCATIONAL TIMES.—'Marked by the scholarly care to which we are accustomed in Dr. Sandys' books, and is thorough and complete.'

THE TROADES OF EURIPIDES. With Revised Text and Notes, by ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, &c. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

EDUCATIONAL TIMES.—'The short commentary is very interesting, and displays on every page Dr. Tyrrell's fine judgment and literary sense. . . . The notes have an independence and freshness that makes them pleasant to read.'

THE FOURTH VERRINE OF CICERO. Edited for Schools by F. W. HALL, M.A., Trinity College, Oxford, Assistant Master at Westminster. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

EDUCATIONAL TIMES.—'A scholarly piece of work. . . . Mr. Hall shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and his notes leave nothing to be desired.'

Globe 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY PRACTICAL PHYSICS (Stewart and Gee Series). By C. L. BARNES, M.A., F.C.S., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. III., Part I., Practical Acoustics.

SCIENCE GOSSIP.—'In it we find the study of sound directed with care and judgment, and facts of more recent discovery fully explained.'

Globe 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE STUDY OF FRENCH: According to the Best and Newest Systems. By ALFRED F. EUGÈNE, Professeur Officiel de l'enseignement secondaire (Université de France) and H. E. DURIAUX.

SCOTSMAN.—'The system has much to recommend it, and deserves the attention of teachers.'

MACMILLAN & CO., Ltd., London.

WORKS BY SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER,

D.C.L., LL.D.

JUST PUBLISHED. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CROMWELL'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

Founded on Six Lectures delivered at Oxford.

PALL MALL GAZETTE—'Professor Gardiner must be content with having produced the most *reasonable* estimate of Cromwell's genius which has yet been given.'

SPECTATOR.—'It would be difficult to speak too highly of the tone and temper of Dr. Gardiner's study of Cromwell's place in history. The book has but one hundred and sixteen pages, yet in it is contained an extraordinarily perfect appreciation of Cromwell as a statesman and ruler.'

ACADEMY.—'It need hardly be said that Professor Gardiner is the greatest living authority upon the period of which he treats, and his deliberate judgment of Cromwell comes accordingly with great weight and significance.'

JUST PUBLISHED. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

WHAT GUNPOWDER PLOT WAS:

A Reply to Father Gerard.

WITH 8 ILLUSTRATIONS AND PLANS.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–1642. 10 vols. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* each.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, 1642-1649. 4 vols. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* each.

HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE, 1649–1660. Vol. I. 1649–1651. 8vo. 21*s.* Vol. II. (*Nearly ready.*)

THE STUDENT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. With 378 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 12*s.*

*** *To be had also in Three Volumes, price* 4*s. each.*

A SCHOOL ATLAS OF ENGLISH HISTORY: a Companion Atlas to Gardiner's 'Student's History of England.' Edited by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, M.A., LL.D. With 66 Maps and 22 Plans of Battles, &c. Fcap. 4to. 5*s.*

OUTLINE OF ENGLISH HISTORY, B.C. 55–A.D. 1886. With 67 Woodcuts and 17 Maps. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE FIRST TWO STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, 1603–1660. With 4 Maps. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* [*Epochs of Modern History.*

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618-1648. With a Map. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* [*Epochs of Modern History.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

SELECT THEOLOGICAL LIST.

NEW BOOK BY DEAN FARRAR.

THE BIBLE: its Meaning and Supremacy. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D. Dean of Canterbury. 8vo. 15*s.*

CONTENTS:—Introduction—The Bible is not one Homogeneous Book, but a gradually collected Canon—The Bible represents the remains of a much wider Literature—The Bible combines immense Variety with Essential Unity—The 'Allegorical Method' of Exegesis Untenable—The Bible is not Homogeneous in its Morality—Antitheses of Scripture—'Verbal Dictation' an Untrue and Unspiritual Hypothesis—'Plenary Inspiration'—The Higher Criticism—The Bible contains the Word of God—Biblical Infallibility—Dangerous Results of the 'Supernatural Dictation' Theory—The Bible not the only Source from which we can Learn of God—Misinterpretation of Scripture: True and False Views of Scripture—Further Misinterpretation of the Bible—The Wresting of Texts—Scripture Difficulties—Supremacy of the Bible—The Bible and Individual Souls—The Bible the Chief Source of Human Consolation—Special Consolations of Scripture—The Bible and the Nations—Conclusion—Index.

EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D. D.C.L. LL.D. late Chancellor and Canon of St. Paul's. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

FOOTPRINTS OF THE APOSTLES AS TRACED BY ST. LUKE IN THE ACTS: being Sixty Portions for Private Study and Instruction in Church. By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D. Dean of Lichfield. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12*s.*

PRACTICAL STUDIES ON THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. By the Rev. B. W. MATURIN, formerly Mission Priest of the Society of St. John Evangelist, Cowley. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

CABINET EDITION OF BISHOP CREIGHTON'S 'PAPACY.'

A HISTORY OF THE PAPACY FROM THE GREAT SCHISM TO THE SACK OF ROME (1378–1527). By M. CREIGHTON, D.D. Oxon. and Camb. Lord Bishop of London. New and Cheaper Edition. Six Volumes, crown 8vo. 6*s.* each.

SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRAL AT THE COMMEMORATION OF FOUNDERS OF THE KING'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY, ON SPEECH DAY, 1887 to 1896. Crown 8vo. [*Nearly ready.*

THE OXFORD HOUSE PAPERS. Written by Members of the University of Oxford. Third Series. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* [*Nearly ready.*

THE VALIDITY OF PAPAL CLAIMS. Five Lectures delivered in Rome. By F. NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, D.D. English Chaplain at Rome. With a Preface by the Archbishop of York. [*In the press.*

BY ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. D.D. PH.D.

Sometime Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS THE MESSIAH. Two vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

JESUS THE MESSIAH; being an Abridged Edition of 'The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.' With a Preface by the Rev. W. SANDAY, D.D. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BY ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D.

Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Canon of Canterbury.

THE FAITH OF THE GOSPEL. A Manual of Christian Doctrine. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* *Cheap Edition*, 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE RELATION OF CONFIRMATION TO BAPTISM, as Taught in Holy Scripture and the Fathers. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE PRINCIPLES OF ECCLESIASTICAL UNITY. Four Lectures delivered in St. Asaph's Cathedral on June 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1896. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE CONDITIONS OF OUR LORD'S LIFE UPON EARTH. Being Lectures delivered on the Bishop Paddock Foundation in the General Seminary at New York, 1896. To which is prefixed part of a First Professorial Lecture at Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

Mr MURRAY'S LIST.

Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

WASTE AND REPAIR IN MODERN LIFE: a Series of Essays on the Maintenance of Health under Conditions which prevail at the Present Time. By ROBSON ROOSE, M.D.

CONTENTS:—Wear and Tear of Modern Life—Rest and Repair in London Life—The Art of Prolonging Life—Health Resorts and their Uses—Infection and Disinfection—Clothing as a Preventive against Cold—A Contribution to the Alcohol Question—The Physiology of Fasting—The Spread of Diphtheria—The Metropolitan Water Supply—The Propagation and Prevention of Cholera.

Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE STORY OF A GREAT AGRICULTURAL ESTATE: an Account of the Origin and Administration of the 'Beds and Bucks' and 'Thorney' Estates. By the DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LATER GLEANINGS: Theological and Ecclesiastical. A New Series of Gleanings of Past Years. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE.

CONTENTS:—The Dawn of Creation and Worship—Proem to Genesis—Robert Elsmere: the Battle of Belief—Ingersoll on Christianity—The Elizabethan Settlement—Queen Elizabeth and the Church of England—The Church under Henry—Professor Huxley and the Swine Miracle—The Place of Heresy and Schism—True and False Conceptions of the Atonement—The Lord's Day—General Introduction to Sheppard's Bible—Soliloquium and Postscript on the Pope and Anglican Orders.

With Portrait, crown 8vo. 5s.

ALICE, GRAND DUCHESS OF HESSE, Princess of Great Britain. Letters to Her Majesty the Queen. With a Memoir by H.R.H. PRINCESS CHRISTIAN. A New and Cheaper Edition, Revised. Containing the Last Letter written by Princess Alice.

With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s.

HOW TO LISTEN TO MUSIC: Hints and Suggestions to Untaught Lovers of the Art. By HENRY EDWARD KREHBIEL, Author of 'Studies in the Wagnerian Drama' &c. With a Preface by Sir GEORGE GROVE.

Fcap. 8vo. 2s.

MURRAY'S CYCLIST'S ROAD-BOOK, from London through Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton to the New Forest, and back by Romsey, Winchester, Dorking, Leatherhead, and Epsom. Illustrated by a Road Atlas at the end of the book.

With Maps and Illustrations. 8vo. 14s.

PHILIP AND ALEXANDER OF MACEDON: Two Essays in Biography. By DAVID G. HOGARTH, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; Author of 'A Wandering Scholar' &c.

'Written with spirit and in a fascinating manner: it will appeal alike to the student of history and the general reader. . . . Romance is outdone by the tale of the great Macedonians.'
PALL MALL GAZETTE.

SECOND EDITION. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford. By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D., and the Rev. LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D. With Portraits and other Illustrations.

With Maps and Plans. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12s.

HERODOTUS. The Text of Canon Rawlinson's Translation, with the Notes abridged for the use of Students. By A. J. GRANT, M.A., of King's College; Professor of History, Yorkshire College; Author of 'Greece in the Age of Pericles.'

With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. 9s.

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGE. By OLIVER J. THATCHER, Ph.D., and FERDINAND SCHWILL, Ph.D.

With Maps. 8vo. 18s.

THE DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY: a History of Travel and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to 900 A.D. With an Account of the Achievements and Writings of the Early Christian, Arab, and Chinese Students and Explorers. By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street.

MURRAY'S EUROPEAN HANDBOOKS.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM. 18 Maps and Plans. 6s.

THE RHINE AND NORTH GERMANY: The Black Forest, The Hartz, Thuringerwald, Saxon Switzerland, Rugen, The Giant Mountains, Taunus, Odenwald, Elsass, and Lothringen. 82 Maps and Plans. 10s.

DENMARK AND ICELAND: Schleswig Holstein, Copenhagen, Jutland, and Iceland. Maps and Plans. 7s. 6d.

SWEDEN: Stockholm, Upsala, Gothenburg, The Shores of the Baltic, &c. Maps and Plans. 6s.

NORWAY: Christiania, Bergen, Trondhjem, The Fjelds and Fjords. With Special Information for Fishermen and Cyclists. By T. Michell, C.B., H.B.M. Consul-General for Norway. Maps and Plans. 7s. 6d.

RUSSIA: St. Petersburg, Moscow, Finland, Crimea, Caucasus, &c. Edited by T. Michell, C.B., H.B.M. Consul-General for Norway. Maps and Plans. 18s.

FRANCE, Part I.: Normandy, Brittany, The Seine and the Loire, Touraine, Bordeaux, The Garonne, Limousin, The Pyrenees, &c. 36 Maps and Plans. 7s. 6d.

FRANCE, Part II.: Central France, Auvergne, The Cévennes, Burgundy, The Rhone and Saône, Provence, Nimes, Arles, Marseilles, The French Alps, Alsace-Lorraine, Champagne, &c. 23 Maps and Plans. 7s. 6d.

SOUTH GERMANY—AUSTRIA: Tyrol, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Salsburg, Styria, Hungary, and the Danube, from Ulm to the Black Sea. Two Parts. 31 Maps and Plans. Part I. 7s. 6d.; Part II. 6s.

SWITZERLAND: Alps of Savoy and Piedmont, Italian Lakes, and Part of Dauphiné. Maps. Two Parts.

Part I. The Bernese Oberland, Geneva, Lucerne, Engadine, &c. 6s.

Part II. The Alps of Savoy and Piedmont, Italian Lakes, and Part of Dauphiné. 6s.

SPAIN: Madrid, The Castilles, The Basque Provinces, Leon, The Asturias, Galicia, Estremadura, Andalusia, Ronda, Granada, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, The Balearic Islands, &c. In Two Parts. 20s.

PORTUGAL: Lisbon, Oporto, Cintra, Mafra, with an Account of Madeira, The Azores, and Canary Islands. Map and Plans. 12s.

THE RIVIERA &c.: From Marseilles to Pisa. With Outlines of the Routes thither, and some Introductory Information on the Climate and the Choice of Winter Stations for Invalids. 16 Maps and Plans of Towns. 6s.

NORTH ITALY AND VENICE: Turin, Milan, The Italian Lakes, Verona, Padua, Venice, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma, Modena, Genoa, &c. Edited by H. W. Pullen, M.A. 34 Maps and Plans. 10s.

CENTRAL ITALY AND FLORENCE: Tuscany, Umbria, The Marches, &c. Edited by H. W. Pullen, M.A. 24 Maps and Plans. 6s.

ROME AND ITS ENVIRONS. Re-arranged under the Editorship of H. W. Pullen, M.A. Classical Archæology, by Professor Rodolfo Lanciani. Sculpture Galleries, by A. S. Murray, LL.D. Picture Galleries, by the Right Hon. Sir A. Henry Layard, G.C.B., D.C.L. Numerous Maps and Plans. Post 8vo. 10s.

SOUTH ITALY: Naples, Pompeii; Sorrento &c.; Capri &c.; Amalfi, Pæstum, Tarantо, Bari. Edited by H. W. Pullen, M.A. 20 Maps and Plans. 6s.

SICILY: Palermo, Syracuse, &c. Edited by H. W. Pullen, M.A. With Maps. 6s.

GREECE: The Ionian Isles, The Islands of the Ægean Sea, Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia. New and Revised Edition. Maps and Plans. 20s.

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street.

MURRAY'S ENGLISH HANDBOOKS.

'The general quality of Murray, the scientific character of the information, the accuracy and interest of the historical particulars, to say nothing of the lowness of the price, place his Guides far ahead of any competitors.'—SATURDAY REVIEW.

EASTERN COUNTIES: Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge. 12*s.*

KENT. 7*s.* 6*d.* **SUSSEX.** 6*s.*

SURREY.

HANTS, AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

HERTS, BEDS, AND HUNTS. 7*s.* 6*d.*

OXFORDSHIRE. Oxford with its Colleges. 6*s.*

WILTS, DORSET, & SOMERSET. 12*s.*

WORCESTER & HEREFORD. 5*s.*

GLOUCESTER. 6*s.*

DEVON. 7*s.* 6*d.* **CORNWALL.** 6*s.*

NORTH WALES. 6*s.* **SOUTH WALES.** 6*s.*

NORTHAMPTON AND RUTLAND. 7*s.* 6*d.*

DERBY, NOTTS, LEICESTER, AND STAFFORD. 9*s.*

SHROPSHIRE & CHESHIRE. 6*s.*

LANCASHIRE. 6*s.* **YORKSHIRE.** 12*s.*

LINCOLNSHIRE. 7*s.* 6*d.*

DURHAM & NORTHUMBERLAND. 10*s.*

THE LAKE DISTRICT OF WESTMORELAND AND CUMBERLAND. 6*s.*

HANDBOOK FOR ENGLAND AND WALES. Arranged alphabetically, with List of Railway Stations, Hotels, and all Places and Objects worth seeing. One Vol., Maps. 12*s.*

HANDBOOK FOR SCOTLAND. Thoroughly Revised, with special detailed Information for Pedestrians, and entirely new Maps. Printed on specially thin and light paper. 9*s.*

HANDBOOK FOR IRELAND. New and thoroughly Revised Edition. With entirely new Set of Maps and Plans. Printed on specially light and thin paper. 9*s.*

MURRAY'S CYCLISTS' ROAD-BOOKS.

CYCLIST'S ROAD-BOOK, from London, through Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton to the New Forest, and back by Romsey, Winchester, Dorking, Leatherhead, and Epsom. Illustrated by a Road Atlas at the end of the Book. Fcp. 8vo. 2*s.*

MR. EDWARD WHYMPER'S GUIDES.

Crown 8vo. 3*s.* net.

CHAMONIX AND MONT BLANC. By EDWARD WHYMPER, Author of 'Scrambles amongst the Alps,' 'Travels amongst the Great Andes.' With 65 Illustrations and Maps.

ZERMATT AND THE MATTERHORN. With 75 Illustrations and Maps. 3*s.* net. [*Nearly ready.*

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street.

The Badminton Library.

Edited by the DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G. Assisted by ALFRED E. T. WATSON.

*** *These Volumes can also be had bound in half-leather, with gilt top. For price apply to any Bookseller.*

ARCHERY. By C. J. LONGMAN, Col. H. WALROND, &c. With 195 Illustrations and 2 Maps. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

ATHLETICS AND FOOTBALL. By MONTAGUE SHEARMAN. With 51 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

BIG GAME SHOOTING. By C. PHILLIPPS-WOLLEY, &c.
VOL. I. AFRICA and AMERICA. With 77 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*
VOL. II. EUROPE, ASIA, and the ARCTIC REGIONS. With 73 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

BILLIARDS. By Major W. BROADFOOT, R.E. With 29 Illustrations and numerous Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

BOATING. By W. B. WOODGATE. With 49 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

COURSING AND FALCONRY. By HARDING COX and the Hon. GERALD LASCELLES. With 76 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

CRICKET. By A. G. STEEL and the Hon. R. H. LYTTELTON. With 64 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

CYCLING. By the EARL OF ALBEMARLE and G. LACY HILLIER. With 59 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

DANCING. By Mrs. LILLY GROVE, F.R.C.S. With Contributions by other Authorities. With 131 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

DRIVING. By the DUKE OF BEAUFORT. With 65 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

FENCING, BOXING, AND WRESTLING. By WALTER H. POLLOCK, F. C. GROVE, C. PREVOST, &c. With 42 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

FISHING. By H. CHOLMONDELEY-PENNELL.
VOL. I. SALMON, TROUT, and GRAYLING. With 158 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*
VOL. II. PIKE and other COARSE FISH. With 132 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

GOLF. By HORACE HUTCHINSON, the Right Hon. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P., ANDREW LANG, Sir W. G. SIMPSON, Bart., &c. With 89 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

HUNTING. By the DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G., and MOWBRAY MORRIS. With 53 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

MOUNTAINEERING. By C. T. DENT, W. M. CONWAY, D. W. FRESHFIELD, C. E. MATHEWS, C. PILKINGTON, &c. With 108 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

POETRY (THE) OF SPORT. Selected and Edited by HEDLEY PEEK. With 106 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

RACING AND STEEPLE-CHASING. By the EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE, W. G. CRAVEN, &c. With 58 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

RIDING AND POLO. By Captain ROBERT WEIR, J. MORAY BROWN, the DUKE OF BEAUFORT, &c. With 59 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SEA FISHING. By JOHN BICKERDYKE, W. SENIOR, Sir H. W. GORE BOOTH, Bart., and A. C. HARMSWORTH. With 197 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SHOOTING. By LORD WALSINGHAM and Sir RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, Bart.
VOL. I. FIELD and COVERT. With 105 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*
VOL. II. MOOR and MARSH. With 65 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SKATING, CURLING, TOBOGGANING, &c. By J. M. HEATHCOTE, C. G. TEBBUTT, T. MAXWELL WITHAM, &c. With 284 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SWIMMING. By ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR and WILLIAM HENRY, Hon. Secs. of the Life-Saving Society. With 119 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

TENNIS, LAWN TENNIS, RACKETS AND FIVES. By J. M. and C. G. HEATHCOTE, &c. With 79 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

YACHTING. By LORD BRASSEY, the EARL OF ONSLOW, &c.
VOL. I. CRUISING, CONSTRUCTION, RACING RULES, &c. With 114 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*
VOL. II. YACHTING in AMERICA and the COLONIES, RACING, &c. With 195 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO.'S NEW BOOKS

NOW READY, AT ALL BOOKSELLERS'.

POPULAR ROYALTY.

By ARTHUR H. BEVAN, Author of 'Marlborough and its Occupants.'

Royal 8vo. beautifully Illustrated, cloth, 10*s.* 6*d.*

This book contains life-sketches of Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family, besides four chapters reviewing the national advance and changes during the last seventy or eighty years. A special feature of the book is the numerous full-page illustrations which appear by the special permission of Her Majesty the Queen, Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Frederick and the members of the Royal Family, some of whom have contributed the photographs themselves. The frontispiece consists of a photogravure reproduction of the original jewelled miniature of the Queen, by Mrs. Corbould-Ellis, presented to the Emperor of China by Her Majesty.

NAVAL ADMINISTRATIONS, 1827–1892: The Experiences of Sixty-five Years, from the Accession of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence as Lord High Admiral to the end of the Naval Administration of Lord George Hamilton. By the late Sir JOHN HENRY BRIGGS, Reader to the Lords, and Chief Clerk to the Admiralty. Edited by Lady BRIGGS. Illustrated with 10 Photogravure Portraits, demy 8vo. cloth, ONE GUINEA.

'Very interesting reminiscences.'—TIMES.

'The general and wholly admirable purpose of the book is to show the disastrous effect of spasmodic interest in the Navy followed by periods of neglect. It may now be hoped that the day has gone by in which First Lords found no support in the Cabinet. The book has high interest for recent naval history, and is very amusing and instructive. It is embellished by many excellent portraits.'

ARMY AND NAVY GAZETTE.

CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN'S NEW WORK.

THE LIFE OF NELSON: The Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain. By Captain A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N., Author of 'The Influence of Sea Power upon History' &c. Two vols. demy 8vo. illustrated with many Photogravure Portraits and other Illustrations, cloth extra, gilt top, 36*s.* net.

'Must henceforth become one of the greatest of naval classics. . . . By far the best "Life of Nelson" that has ever been written.'—TIMES.

'A carefully planned, skilfully executed, and withal elaborate portraiture of the life and character of the greatest of our naval heroes. . . . This great work.'—ATHENÆUM.

'A great biography, and one to be read by all men.'—SPECTATOR.

IN DARKEST AFRICA; or, the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria. By HENRY M. STANLEY, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D., &c., Author of 'How I Found Livingstone.' New and Cheaper Edition. Revised and Corrected throughout, with New Preface, a Map and 150 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

JOURNEYS AMONG THE GENTLE JAPS IN THE SUMMER OF 1895. By the Rev. J. LL. THOMAS, M.A., F.R.G.S. With a Special Chapter on the Religions of Japan, a Map and Portrait. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

PEN AND PENCIL IN PARLIAMENT. By HARRY FURNISS. Profusely Illustrated by the Author. Crown 4to. cloth, 5*s.*

NEW ZEALAND RULERS AND STATESMEN, 1844–1897. By the Hon. WILLIAM GISBORNE, formerly a Member of the House of Representatives, and also of the New Zealand Ministry. With 50 Portraits. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

NEWFOUNDLAND IN 1897: being Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Year, and the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of Newfoundland by John Cabot. By the Rev. M. HARVEY, LL.D. With a Map and Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

FOURTH EDITION NOW READY AT ALL LIBRARIES.

THE MASSARENES. By OUIDA. Crown 8vo. 580 pp. 6*s.*

'Ouida's latest novel, "The Massarenes," is from every point of view excellent.'—PUNCH.

'So interesting that, in spite of its exceptional length, it will seem to most readers tantalisingly short.'—TRUTH.

'Incomparably the best the author has ever written.'—NATIONAL OBSERVER.

TWO NEW 6s. NOVELS. At all Libraries.

THE TRACK OF MIDNIGHT: a Tale of the Australian Bush. By G. FIRTH SCOTT.

'Strikingly original and ingenious, animating, interesting and puzzling. . . . Deserves grateful recognition by lovers of tales well told.'—WORLD.

THE MISTRESS OF THE RANCH. By FRED T. CLARK, Author of 'On Cloud Mountain' &c.

'The development of events is extremely interesting; it is invested at various stages with fine touches of tenderness, and the racy dialogue is a constant source of enjoyment.'—SCOTSMAN.

London: SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY, LIMITED, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.

A SELECTION OF BOOKS OF TRAVEL

OFFERED AT GREATLY REDUCED PRICES BY

W. H. SMITH & SON,

186 STRAND, LONDON,

And at the Railway Bookstalls, to which places they will be forwarded Carriage Paid.

THE BOOKS ARE NEW AS PUBLISHED.

	Pub. at	Off. at
Mannering, G. E., With Axe and Rifle in New Zealand Alps. With 18 Illustrations from Photographs and a Map. Royal 8vo.	12 6 ..	6 6
Farthest East and South-West: Notes on a Journey Home through Japan, Australasia, and America, by an Anglo-Indian Globe Trotter. 8vo.	15 0 ..	3 6
Guillemard, F. H. H., The Cruise of the 'Marchesa' to Katuschatka and New Guinea. With Maps and Illustrations	21 0 ..	12 0
Von Hohnel, Ludwig, Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie: an Account of Count Samuel Teleki's Exploring and Hunting Expedition in Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1887-88. Translated by Nancy Bell (N. D'Anvers). With 179 Illustrations and 2 large and 4 small coloured Maps. 2 vols. 8vo.	42 0 ..	12 6
Bell, C. F., Moberley, From Pharaoh to Fellah. Illustrations by G. Montbard. Roy. 8vo.	16 0 ..	5 0
Blackburn, Henry, Artistic Travel in Normandy, Brittany, the Pyrenees, Spain, and Algeria. With 130 Illustrations	10 6 ..	5 0
Bonvalot, Gabriel, Through the Heart of Asia, over the Pamir to India. With 250 Illustrations by Albert Pépin. 2 vols. Royal 8vo.	32 0 ..	7 6
Butler, A. J., Court Life in Egypt. Illustrated	12 0 ..	3 6
Ellis, Major A. B., The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa: their Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, &c...	10 6 ..	3 0
——— The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa: their Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, &c...	10 6 ..	3 0
——— West African Islands	14 0 ..	3 0
Keeley, R. N., and G. G. Davis, In Arctic Seas: The Voyage of the 'Kite,' with Peary's Expedition. With Maps, Portraits, and Photographic Views	16 0 ..	10 6
Kroupa, B., An Artist's Tour through America and the Sandwich Islands. Illustrated. Royal 8vo.	21 0 ..	7 6
Little, Rev. H. W., Madagascar: Its History and People. With Map	10 6 ..	3 0
Lumholtz, Carl, M.A., Among Cannibals: An Account of Four Years' Travel in Australia, and of Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland. With Maps, Coloured Plates, and 122 Illustrations. Demy 8vo.	24 0 ..	10 6
Margary, A. R., the Journey of, from Shanghai to Bhamo, and back to Manwyne. With a Brief Biographical Preface and concluding Chapter by Sir R. Alcock ..	10 6 ..	2 6
Norman, C. B., Tonkin; or, France in the Far East. With Maps	14 0 ..	3 0
Peters, Dr. Carl, New Light on Dark Africa: being the Narrative of the German Emin Pasha Expedition. Translated by Dr. H. W. Dulcken. Maps and Illustrations. Royal 8vo.	16 0 ..	8 6
Piassetsky, P., Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China. Translated by Miss Gordon Cumming. Illustrated. 2 vols.	24 0 ..	4 0
Pratt, A. E., F.R.G.S. (Gill Memorialist, 1891), The Snows of Tibet: Through China. Illustrated. 8vo.	18 0 ..	3 6
Rennie, Dr., Peking, and the Pekingese during the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking. 2 vols.	24 0 ..	6 0
Scott-Stevenson, Mrs., Our Home in Cyprus. With Illustrations and Maps. 8vo. ..	14 0 ..	3 0
Seguin, L. G., The Black Forest: Its People and Legends. Maps and Illustrations ..	6 0 ..	2 6
Soltera, Maria, A Lady's Ride across Spanish Honduras. With Illustrations ..	12 6 ..	3 6
Stone, Olivia M., Teneriffe and its Six Satellites; or, The Canary Islands, Past and Present. With Maps and Illustrations from Photographs taken by Harris Stone, M.A., F.L.S., &c. 2 vols.	42 0 ..	10 0
Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-West, by J. Turner-Turner. Illustrated. Royal 8vo.	15 0 ..	3 6
Wolverton, Lord, Five Months' Sport in Somali Land. With Illustrations from Photographs by Colonel Paget	7 6 ..	4 0
Conway (Sir William Martin), M.A., Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas, containing Scientific Reports by Prof. T. G. Bonney, D.Sc., F.R.S., Dr. A. G. Butler, F.L.S., W. Laurence, H. Duckworth, B.A., Lieut.-Col. A. G. Durand, C.B., W. Botting Hemsley, F.R.S., W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., F.E.S., Miss C. A. Raisin, B.Sc., and Prof. C. F. Roy, F.R.S. With Frontispiece Portrait of the Author, Maps, and Supplementary Volume. 2 vols.	56 6 .	26 0
Craik, Mrs., An Unsentimental Journey through Cornwall. Beautifully Illustrated. 4to.	12 6 ..	5 0
Erman (A.), Life in Ancient Egypt. Translated by H. M. Tirard. With 400 Illustrations and Maps. Super-royal 8vo.	21 0 ..	12 6
Hubner (Baron Von), A Ramble Round the World, 1871. Translated by Lady Herbert. Illustrated	6 0 ..	3 0
Romilly (Hugh H.)—The Western Pacific and New Guinea. 2nd Edition. Map. Cr. 8vo.	7 6 ..	3 6
Sandeman (E. F.).—Eight Months in an Ox-Waggon: Reminiscences of Boer Life. With Map. 8vo.	15 0 ..	5 0
Stanley (H. M.).—In Darkest Africa; or, the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin Pasha, Governor of Equatoria. With 150 Woodcut Illustrations and Maps. 2 vols. 8vo.	42 0 ..	15 0

STANDARD WORKS FOR THE LIBRARY

PUBLISHED BY

RICHARD BENTLEY & SON.

PROF. MOMMSEN'S HISTORY OF ROME TO THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS. Translated by Dr. DICKSON. The Popular Edition. In 5 vols., crown 8vo. 37*s.* 6*d.*

*** Also sold separately, 7*s.* 6*d.* each volume.

THE ROMAN PROVINCES: being the History of Rome from Cæsar to Diocletian. By Prof. MOMMSEN. Translated by Rev. P. W. DICKSON. 2 vols. 8vo. with Maps, 36*s.*

THE HISTORY OF ROMAN CLASSICAL LITERATURE. By R. W. BROWNE, M.A., Ph.D., late Prebendary of St. Paul's and Professor of Classical Literature in King's College, London. A New Edition. 1 vol. demy 8vo. 9*s.*

THE HISTORY OF ANTIQUITY. From the German of Prof. MAX DUNCKER, by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D., of Balliol College, Oxford. In 6 vols., demy 8vo. Each volume can be obtained separately, 21*s.*

THE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION. By Sir EDWARD CREASY, late Chief Justice of Ceylon. Popular Account of the Primary Principles and Formation and Development of the English Constitution, avoiding all Party Politics. Fourteenth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

THE LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY. By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, late Dean of Chichester. ST. AUGUSTINE to JUXON. 12 vols. demy 8vo. £9. Each separately (with the exception of III., IV., VI., and VII.), 15*s.* The new series begins with Vol. VI. Vol. XII. is the Index.

THE LIFE OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. From the French of M. MIGNET, by Sir ANDREW SCOBLE, Q.C. With Two Portraits, 6*s.*

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL. From the French of M. GUIZOT, by Sir ANDREW SCOBLE, Q.C. Crown 8vo. with four Portraits, 6*s.*

THE HISTORY OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. From the German of ANTON GINDELY. By Prof. TEN BRINK. In 2 vols. large crown 8vo. with Maps and Illustrations, 24*s.*

THE LETTERS OF HORACE WALPOLE, Fourth Earl of Orford. Edited by PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A. In 9 vols. demy 8vo. with Portraits, £5. 5*s.*

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION. From the French of M. THIERS. Translated by FREDERICK SHOBERL. With 50 Engravings on Steel. In 5 vols. demy 8vo. 45*s.*

THE FIFTEEN DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WORLD. By Prof. CREASY. Library Edition, in demy 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*; also a Cheap Edition, for use in Schools, in crown 8vo. canvas cloth, 1*s.* 4*d.*

MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. By FAUVELET DE BOURRIENNE, Private Secretary to the Emperor. Edited by Col. PHIPPS. 4 vols. cr. 8vo. 36*s.*

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. By WILLIAM JAMES. 6 vols. crown 8vo. with numerous Portraits on Steel, 42*s.*

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF MARIE ANTOINETTE. With Sketches and Anecdotes of the Courts of Louis XIV., XV., and XVI. By JEANNE LOUISE HENRIETTE CAMPAN, First Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen. A New and Annotated Edition. In crown 8vo. 6*s.* with a Portrait.

THE LIFE OF JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE. By Field-Marshal Viscount WOLSELEY, K.P. Fourth Edition. 2 vols. demy 8vo. with Portraits and Plans, 32*s.*

London: RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, New Burlington Street,

Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen.

'EDINBURGH' EDITION.

COMPLETE IN TEN VOLUMES.

Price 6s. each.

EACH VOLUME SOLD SEPARATELY.

THE

LIFE AND WORKS

OF

LORD MACAULAY.

VOLS. I.–IV.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOLS. V.–VII.

ESSAYS; BIOGRAPHIES; INDIAN PENAL CODE; CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNIGHT'S 'QUARTERLY MAGAZINE.'

VOL. VIII.

SPEECHES; LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME; MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

VOLS. IX. & X.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF LORD MACAULAY.

By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, Bart., M.P.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

To be completed in about 10 Volumes, crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

THE PROSE WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

Edited by TEMPLE SCOTT.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION BY

The Rt. Hon. W. E. H. LECKY, M.P.

Volume I. is now ready.

VOL. I. A TALE OF A TUB and other Early Works. Edited by TEMPLE SCOTT. With a Biographical Introduction by the Rt. Hon. W. E. H. LECKY, M.P. With Portrait and Facsimiles.

This Volume contains the following works: A TALE OF A TUB. THE BATTLE OF THE BOOKS. DISCOURSE ON THE MECHANICAL OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT. PREFACES TO TEMPLE'S WORKS. DISCOURSE ON THE CONTESTS AND DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE NOBLES AND COMMONS IN ATHENS AND ROME. THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. A TRITICAL ESSAY UPON THE FACULTIES OF THE MIND. THE BICKERSTAFF PAMPHLETS: PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1708, THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE FIRST OF MR. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS, VINDICATION OF ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQ., A FAMOUS PREDICTION OF MERLIN. A MEDITATION UPON A BROOMSTICK.

VOL. II. THE JOURNAL TO STELLA. Edited by FREDERICK RYLAND, M.A. With two Portraits of Stella, and a Facsimile of one of the Letters. 3s. 6d. [*Immediately.*

'An adequate edition of Swift—the whole of Swift, and nothing but Swift—has long been one of the pressing needs of students of English literature. Mr. Temple Scott, who is preparing the new edition of Swift's Prose Works, has begun well, his first volume is marked by care and knowledge. He has scrupulously collated his texts with the first or the best early editions, and has given various readings in the foot-notes. He reproduces the original title pages, and prefixes an accurate and sufficient account of the origin, the principal changes in the chief editions, and the political bearing of each work. . . . Mr. Temple Scott may well be congratulated on his skill and judgment as a commentator. Altogether we have these 334 pages, the most brilliant work of Swift's earlier years, and we have it in a well-edited, well-printed, and thoroughly handy form, at an absurdly low price. Mr. Temple Scott has undoubtedly earned the gratitude of all admirers of our greatest satirist, and all students of vigorous, masculine, and exact English.'—ATHENÆUM.

'The volume is an agreeable one to hold and to refer to, and the notes and apparatus are, on the whole, exact. A cheap and handy reprint, which we can conscientiously recommend.'
SATURDAY REVIEW.

'From the specimen now before us we may safely predict that Mr. Temple Scott will easily distance both Roscoe and Swift. He deserves the gratitude of all lovers of literature for enabling Swift again to make his bow to the world in so satisfactory and complete a garb.'
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

'There could hardly be a more acceptable addition to Bohn's Standard Library than a new edition of Swift's Prose Works. The text is well printed, and the volume is of convenient size. The edition deserves to be popular, since Swift is a writer who will be always read, while this edition will bring him within reach of a number of new readers.'—SCOTSMAN.

London: GEORGE BELL & SONS, York Street, Covent Garden.

HISTORICAL ROMANCES

By MR. STANLEY WEYMAN.

THIRTY-FOURTH THOUSAND Crown 8vo. Price 6*s.*

THE RED COCKADE:

A Tale of the French Revolution.

YORKSHIRE POST—'Incident succeeds incident with exciting rapidity; we are always breathless, yet the end is in the inevitable wedding It is an excellent story, and we hope Mr. Weyman will give us the continuation he half promises.'

SCOTSMAN—'We are greatly mistaken if "The Red Cockade" does not take rank with the very best book that Mr Weyman has written, both by its intrinsic interest and by the supreme skill with which its narrative and its powerful word-pictures are woven and interwoven.'

MORNING POST—'"The Red Cockade" is considerably above the average in interest among novels of its own class There is, indeed, one figure, that of the haughty Madame de St. Alais, which stands out strongly, and is equal to anything in the way of characterisation that Mr. Weyman has yet achieved.'

GLOBE—'There has been no more vivid portrait of the typical King's man than Mr Weyman draws in Victor de St Alais His Marquise lives and moves in all her splendid frippery His autobiographer is better than either . "The Red Cockade" is, in fact, an admirable piece of work throughout, and the half promise which it contains of further episodes in the careers of Adrien and his bride is one which calls for fulfilment.'

FORTY-SEVENTH THOUSAND Crown 8vo Price 6*s.*

A GENTLEMAN OF FRANCE:

A Tale of the Days of Henry of Navarre.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—'One of the best novels of adventure which has appeared for years'

LEEDS MERCURY.—'One of the most brilliant historical romances which we have read for many a day.'

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—'This is, in fact, quite the best historical romance that has appeared for some years'

SCOTSMAN—'This is really a great book . . . It is much more than a clever story of adventure It is a very fine work of literary art'

SPECTATOR—'In many respects this book is so noteworthy that it places Mr. Weyman at one stride in the front rank of living novelists'

ATHENÆUM—'The book is not only good literature, it is a "rattling good story," instinct with the spirit of true adventure and stirring emotion Of love and peril, intrigue and fighting, there is plenty.'

THIRTY-THIRD THOUSAND Crown 8vo Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

The HOUSE of the WOLF:

A Tale of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

SATURDAY REVIEW,—'The tale is singularly well told . . . The escape and adventure has not been better done since the "Roaring Forties," when La Reine Margot herself appeared—high praise, but deserved.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

NEW VOLUME OF "THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY."
Just issued, 15*s.* net in cloth; or in half-morocco, marbled edges, 20*s.* net.
Volume 51 (SCOFFIN—SHEARES) of the

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Edited by SIDNEY LEE.

Volume I. was published on January 1, 1885, and a further Volume will be issued Quarterly until the completion of the Work.

A full Prospectus, with Specimen Pages, may be had on application.

By LORD ARMSTRONG, C.B., F.R.S., LL.D.

With Autotype Plates, imperial 4to. £1. 10*s.* net.

ELECTRIC MOVEMENT IN AIR AND WATER.

With Theoretical Inferences. By LORD ARMSTRONG, C.B., F.R.S., LL.D., &c.

'One of the most remarkable contributions to physical and electrical knowledge that have been made in recent years . . . The illustrations are produced in a superb manner, entirely worthy of so remarkable a monograph.'—TIMES.

POT-POURRI FROM A SURREY GARDEN. By

Mrs C. W. EARLE. With an Appendix by Lady CONSTANCE LYTTON. Crown 8vo 7*s.* 6*d.*

GABRIELE VON BÜLOW, Daughter of Wilhelm von

Humboldt. A Memoir compiled from the Family Papers of Wilhelm von Humboldt and his Children, 1791–1887. Translated by CLARA NORDLINGER. With Portraits, and a Preface by Sir EDWARD B. MALET, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., &c., demy 8vo. 16*s.*

'Miss Nordlinger's excellent translation gives English readers an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a very charming personality, and of following the events of a life which was bound up with many interesting incidents and phases of English history.'—TIMES.

ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC, QUEEN OF SPAIN:

HER LIFE, REIGN, and TIMES, 1451–1504. By M. le Baron DE NERVO. Translated from the Original French by Lieut.-Colonel TEMPLE-WEST (Retired). With portraits, demy 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

'An interesting narrative of a marvellous career.'—MORNING POST.

THE FINE ARTS. By the late JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

Large crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

*** This is Volume III. of a NEW and CHEAPER EDITION of 'THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY,' in 7 vols. large crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* each. The remaining volumes will be published in the autumn.

BENGAL DURING THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1770 DESCRIBED BY EYE-WITNESSES.

NEW, REVISED, AND CHEAPER EDITION (the Seventh). Crown 8vo 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE ANNALS OF RURAL BENGAL. From Official

Records and the Archives of Native Families. By Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., &c.

THACKERAY'S HAUNTS AND HOMES. By EYRE

CROWE, A.R.A. With Illustrations from Sketches by the Author. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* net.

*** NOTE.—The Edition of the Work for sale in this country is limited to 260 copies.

UNCLE BERNAC. By A. CONAN DOYLE. With 12 full-page

Illustrations. Crown 8vo 6*s.*

'"Uncle Bernac" is a masterpiece. This memory of the Empire will make the most immortally interesting of human beings, Napoleon, live and move and speak within the knowledge of every one who reads it.'—WORLD.

THE WAYS OF LIFE. Two Stories. 1. MR. SANDFORD.

2. THE WONDERFUL HISTORY OF MR. ROBERT DALYELL. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. With a Preface entitled 'On the Ebb Tide.' Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

'Mrs. Oliphant may not only stand before this piece of work, "The Ways of Life," and say that it is good: she may say that it is in some respects one of the best pieces of work that she has ever done. It is certainly the most poignant piece of work that she has ever done. It is realised, and convinced, and stirring in every syllable. It is a book that haunts you for days after you have read it, a book that sets you thinking and keeps you thinking.'—DAILY CHRONICLE

THE LADY GRANGE. By ALEXANDER INNES SHAND,

Author of 'Kilcarra: a Novel,' 'Half-a-Century; or, Changes in Men and Manners,' &c. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

'Altogether a picturesque book, of keen human interest. . . . Mr. Shand manages, by what seems exceedingly simple art, to reproduce the very men, even the atmosphere of the times.'—PUNCH.

'The story of the life-long sequestration of the wife of Lord Grange, who was younger brother to the famous Earl of Mar, is told in this volume with singular power and grimness.'—WORLD.

London: SMITH, ELDER & CO., 15 Waterloo Place, S.W.

Just Published. 8vo. 14s.

HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

ON THE

LINES OF MODERN EVOLUTION.

Vol. I. Greek and Hindoo Thought; Græco-Roman Paganism; Judaism; and Christianity down to the Closing of the Schools of Athens by Justinian, 529 A.D.

By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER,

Author of 'Civilisation and Progress.'

'Promises, when complete, to be the most important work of the kind issued since Comte's "Positive Philosophy."'—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

'Mr. Crozier's thoughtful and interesting volume. . . . He strikes us as a man of great gifts.' DAILY CHRONICLE.

'It is not easy to do justice to a work which testifies to wide reading, a genuine desire to see truth, and an unmistakable power of expression.'—TIMES.

'Dr. Crozier attacks several of the difficult problems here under discussion with considerable grasp and clearness.'—ACADEMY.

'England probably possesses at this moment no more disinterested student of social philosophy than Dr. Crozier.'—NATIONAL OBSERVER AND BRITISH REVIEW.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW.

NUMBER 47, JULY. Royal 8vo. Price 5s.

Edited by S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L. LL.D.
FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND

REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. Ph.D.
LECTURER IN DIPLOMATIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

American Editor—JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D. Librarian of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1. *Articles.*
 THE TURKS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY. By Professor BURY, Litt.D.
 THE ARCHERS AT CRECY. By J. E. MORRIS.
 YORK IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By Miss MAUD SELLERS.
 THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND THE ELECTION OF 1734. By BASIL WILLIAMS.
2. *Notes and Documents.*—Burh-Geat-Setl. By W. H. STEVENSON.—Military Tenure before the Conquest. By J. H. ROUND.—An Unpublished Fragment of a Work by Roger Bacon. By the Rev. F. A. GASQUET, D.D.—The Inventory of the Jewels and Wardrobe of Queen Isabella [1307-8]. By WALTER E. RHODES.—An Unknown Treaty between Edward IV. and Louis XI. By the Rev. WENTWORTH WEBSTER.—William Hedges in Turkey. By A. E. STAMP.—Two Despatches relative to the Battle of Fontenoy. By Lieut.-Colonel E. M. LLOYD, R.E.
3. *Reviews of Books.* | 4. *Notices of Periodicals.*
5. *List of Recent Historical Publications.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

MESSRS. WM. BLACKWOOD & SONS' LIST

PRINCE RANJITSINHJI ON CRICKET.

Dedicated to Her Majesty the Queen.

THE JUBILEE BOOK OF CRICKET. By K. S. RANJITSINHJI. Profusely Illustrated from Photographs.

*** This work will be issued in Three Editions: I. EDITION DE LUXE. Limited to 350 Copies for England, printed on Hand-made Paper, and handsomely bound in buckram. Crown 4to. with 20 Photogravures and 80 Full-page Plates. Each Copy signed by Prince Ranjitsinhji. Price £5. 5s. net. II. FINE PAPER EDITION. Royal 8vo. with Photogravure Frontispiece, and 99 Full-page Plates on Art Paper. 25s. net. III. POPULAR EDITION. With 90 Page Illustrations and 12 in Text. Large crown 8vo. 6s.

EDINBURGH GIFFORD LECTURES FOR 1896.

ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION. Part I.—MORPHOLOGICAL. By C. P. TIELE, Theol.D., Litt.D. (Bonon), Hon. M.R.A.S., &c., Professor of the Science of Religion in the University of Leiden. In 2 vols. Vol. I., post 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. [*September.*

COUNTY HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND.

INVERNESS. By the Rev. J. CAMERON LEES, D.D., LL.D., Author of 'St. Giles', Edinburgh: Church, College, and Cathedral.' Demy 8vo. with Two Maps, 7s. 6d. net. [*September.*

PREHISTORIC PROBLEMS. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Author of 'The Lake-Dwellings of Europe,' 'Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia,' &c. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. net.

REMINISCENCES OF THE MUTINY.

OLD MEMORIES. By General Sir HUGH GOUGH, G.C.B., V.C. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE WOODLAND LIFE. By EDWARD THOMAS. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. 6s.

PERIODS OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE.

Edited by PROFESSOR SAINTSBURY.

THE LATER RENAISSANCE. By DAVID HANNAY. In 1 vol. crown 8vo. 8s. net. [*September.*

THE ETHICS OF JOHN STUART MILL. By CHARLES DOUGLAS, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, and Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; Author of 'John Stuart Mill: a Study of his Philosophy.' Post 8vo. 6s. net.

THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH: the Baird Lecture for 1897. By ROBERT HERBERT STORY, D.D. (Edin.), F.S.A. Scot., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow; Principal Clerk of the General Assembly; and Chaplain to the Queen. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

AN ELECTRIC SHOCK, and other Stories. By E. GERARD (Madame de Laszowska), Author of 'A Foreigner' &c.; Joint Author of 'Reata' &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THIRD EDITION.

A SPOTLESS REPUTATION. By DOROTHEA GERARD (Madame LONGARD DE LONGGARDE), Author of 'Lady Baby,' 'The Wrong Man,' &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

AUDREY CRAVEN. By MAY SINCLAIR. Crown 8vo. 6s.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, Edinburgh and London.

JUST PUBLISHED. 8vo. price 15s.

THE BIBLE:

ITS MEANING AND SUPREMACY.

By F. W. FARRAR, D.D. F.R.S. Dean of Canterbury.

INDEPENDENT.—'The book is full of life and interest throughout. Everywhere we find a remarkable array of learning which testifies to the breadth and variety of the author's reading.'

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'This book cannot fail to assist in promoting the study of the Bible in the new light which is constantly being thrown upon it by the patient research of reverent and scholarly men.'

SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH.—'It should prove an invaluable auxiliary and preparative to the critical literature which is now so plentiful, and which, by bringing out the true meaning of the writers, has made the Bible a new book to many.'

CHURCH BELLS.—'The Dean's book is a strong plea for the Bible. . . . We have to thank him for a thoughtful and powerful series of well-written essays upon the greatest book in the world, through which, for long, men have heard the voice of God sounding across the centuries the eternal distinctions of right and wrong.'

BRITISH WEEKLY.—'The catena of passages he has culled from the divers sources form a very striking testimony to the influence of the Bible. No one who reads Dean Farrar's volume can fail to know much regarding the origin and growth of the Bible, the various misconceptions of its nature which have been current, and the claims it has on the esteem of reasonable men.'

GLASGOW HERALD.—'From certain quarters, indeed, the author may expect both obloquy and reproach, but of these he has probably counted the cost and the value. And he will certainly have rendered a great service to religion if he succeeds in bringing home the truths of which his book is full to those minds of average culture and intelligence which make up what is called public opinion.'

SCOTSMAN.—'This book will rank among the most important and influential works of the kind that have issued from the press during recent years. It is at once a powerful vindication of the truths of Scripture, their majesty, and their harmony with the lofty conceptions of human society; but it is, at the same time, an equally powerful blow at dogmas which are no part of the Christian faith, or are in nowise essential to its integrity.'

CHRISTIAN WORLD.—'When we bear in mind the dense ignorance, the extraordinary misconceptions, and the blind, unreasoning bigotry which still prevail amongst masses of the people on the subject of the Scriptures, we may be thankful for an exposition which, in the vivid, popular style, and with the command of illustration characteristic of Dean Farrar, puts before the public, so clearly and unmistakably, the real significance of the Bible and its proper uses for our day.'

TIMES.—'Dean Farrar expounds with great wealth of illustration the opinions now familiar to the mass of educated people as to the human elements in the Bible, as to a progressive revelation, as to the part played in the narrative by poetry and metaphor, and the impossibility of accepting a mechanical theory of inspiration. On these subjects he says much that is worth reading, especially as to the misuse and misinterpretation of Scripture both by its critics and its apologists.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

BOOKS FOR THE COUNTRY.

FUR AND FEATHER SERIES.

Edited by A. E. T. WATSON.

THE PARTRIDGE. NATURAL HISTORY, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; SHOOTING, by A. J. STUART-WORTLEY; COOKERY, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. With 12 Illustrations and 15 Diagrams. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

THE GROUSE. NATURAL HISTORY, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON. SHOOTING, by A. J. STUART-WORTLEY; COOKERY, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. With 13 Illustrations and various Diagrams in the Text. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

THE PHEASANT. NATURAL HISTORY, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON: SHOOTING, by A. J. STUART-WORTLEY; COOKERY, by ALEXANDER INNES SHAND. With 10 Illustrations and numerous Diagrams. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

THE HARE. NATURAL HISTORY, by the Rev. H A. MACPHERSON; SHOOTING, by the Hon. GERALD LASCELLES; COURSING, by CHARLES RICHARDSON; HUNTING, by J. S. GIBBONS and G. H. LONGMAN; COOKERY, by COL. KENNEY HERBERT. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

RED DEER. NATURAL HISTORY, by the Rev. H. A. MACPHERSON; DEER STALKING, by CAMERON OF LOCHIEL; STAG HUNTING, by VISCOUNT EBRINGTON; COOKERY, by ALEXANDER INNES SHAND. With 10 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

LETTERS TO YOUNG SHOOTERS. By Sir RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, Bart. (First Series.) ON THE CHOICE AND USE OF A GUN. With 41 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

LETTERS TO YOUNG SHOOTERS. By Sir RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, Bart. (Second Series.) ON THE PRODUCTION, PRESERVATION, AND KILLING OF GAME. With Directions in Shooting Wood-Pigeons and Breaking-in Retrievers. With a Portrait of the Author, and 103 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *12s. 6d.*

LETTERS TO YOUNG SHOOTERS. By Sir RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, Bart. (Third Series.) BRITISH WILDFOWL. With 200 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *18s.*

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ARCHERY. By the late HORACE FORD. New Edition. With a Preface by C. J. LONGMAN, M.A. 8vo. *14s.*

A BOOK ON ANGLING; or, Treatise on the Art of Fishing in every branch, including full Illus. Lists of Salmon Flies. By FRANCIS FRANCIS. Post 8vo. *15s.*

THE SEA-FISHERMAN; comprising the Chief Methods of Hook and Line Fishing By J. C. WILCOCKS. Profusely Illustrated. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

HORSES AND STABLES. By Major-General Sir F. FITZWYGRAM, Bart. With 56 pages of Illustrations. 8vo. *2s. 6d.* net.

THE HORSE. By WILLIAM YOUATT. With 52 Illus. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

THE DOG. By WILLIAM YOUATT. With 33 Illustrations. 8vo. *6s.*

THE DOG. By 'STONEHENGE.' With 78 Illus. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

WORKS BY JOHN HENRY STEEL, F.R.C.V.S. F.Z.S. A.V.D.

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES OF THE DOG; being a Manual of Canine Pathology. 38 Illustrations. 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES OF THE OX; being a Manual of Bovine Pathology. Two Plates and 117 Woodcuts. 8vo. *15s.*

A TREATISE ON THE DISEASES OF THE SHEEP. With Coloured Plate and 99 Woodcuts. 8vo. *12s.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

STANDARD HISTORICAL WORKS.

ABBOTT.—A HISTORY OF GREECE. By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D.

Part I.—From the Earliest Times to the Ionian Revolt. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*
Part II.—500–445 B.C. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

ACLAND and RANSOME.—A HANDBOOK IN OUTLINE OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND TO 1894. Chronologically Arranged. By the Right Hon. A. H. DYKE ACLAND, M.P., and CYRIL RANSOME, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

ANNUAL REGISTER (THE). A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the year 1896. 8vo. 18*s.*

Volumes of the ANNUAL REGISTER for the years 1863–1895 can still be had. 18*s.* each.

BRIGHT.—A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. J. FRANK BRIGHT, D.D., Master of University College, Oxford. Crown 8vo.

Period I.—MEDIÆVAL MONARCHY: the Departure of the Romans to Richard III. From A.D. 449 to 1485. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Period II.—PERSONAL MONARCHY: Henry VII. to James II. From 1485 to 1688. 5*s.*

Period III.—CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY: William and Mary to William IV. From 1689 to 1837. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Period IV.—THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY: Victoria. From 1837 to 1880. 6*s.*

BUCKLE.—HISTORY OF CIVILISATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, SPAIN AND SCOTLAND. By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 24*s.*

CREIGHTON.—HISTORY OF THE PAPACY DURING THE REFORMATION. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., LL.D. Bishop of London. 6 vols. crown 8vo. 6*s.* each. (Vols. I.–V. now ready.)

EWALD.—THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL. By HEINRICH EWALD. 8 vols. 8vo. £5. 18*s.*

FROUDE.—Works by JAMES A. FROUDE.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. 12 vols. crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE DIVORCE OF CATHERINE OF ARAGON: the Story as told by the Imperial Ambassadors resident at the Court of Henry VIII. Cr. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE SPANISH STORY OF THE ARMADA, and other Essays, Historical and Descriptive. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

ENGLISH SEAMEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. 8vo. 6*s.*

THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Cabinet Edition. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 18*s.* Cheap Edition. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SHORT STUDIES ON GREAT SUBJECTS. 4 vols. crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

LIFE AND LETTERS OF ERASMUS. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

CÆSAR: a Sketch. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

STANDARD HISTORICAL WORKS.

GARDINER. — Works by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–1642. 10 vols. crown 8vo. 6*s.* each.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, 1642–1649. 4 vols. cr. 8vo. 6*s.* each.

HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE, 1649–1660. Vol. I. 1649–1651. 8vo. 21*s.*

THE STUDENT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. With 378 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 12*s.*

HISTORIC TOWNS.—Edited by E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. and Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

BRISTOL. By the Rev. W. HUNT.

CARLISLE. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D. Bishop of Peterborough.

CINQUE PORTS. By MONTAGU BURROWS.

COLCHESTER. By Rev. E. L. CUTTS.

EXETER. By E. A. FREEMAN.

LONDON. By Rev. W. J. LOFTIE.

OXFORD. By Rev. C. W. BOASE.

WINCHESTER. By Rev. G. W. KITCHIN, D.D.

YORK. By Rev. JAMES RAINE.

NEW YORK. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

BOSTON (U.S.). By HENRY CABOT LODGE.

KAYE and MALLESON. — HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857–1858. By Sir JOHN W. KAYE and Colonel G. B. MALLESON. With Analytical Index and Maps and Plans. Cabinet Edition, 6 vols. crown 8vo. 6*s.* each. Popular Edition, 6 vols. crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each (Vols. 1–3 ready, Vols. 4–6 in the autumn.)

LECKY.—Works by WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Library Edition. 8 vols. 8vo. £7. 4*s.*

Cabinet Edition. ENGLAND. 7 vols. crown 8vo. 6*s.* each. IRELAND. 5 vols. crown 8vo. 6*s.* each.

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS FROM AUGUSTUS TO CHARLEMAGNE. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16*s.*

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND INFLUENCE OF THE SPIRIT OF RATIONALISM IN EUROPE. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16*s.*

DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY. 2 vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

MACAULAY.—Works by LORD MACAULAY.

COMPLETE WORKS OF LORD MACAULAY.

Cabinet Edit. 16 vols. post 8vo. £4. 16*s.* | Library Edition. 8 vols. 8vo. £5. 5*s.*
Edinburgh Edition. 8 vols. 8vo. 6*s.* each.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND.

Popular Edition. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 5*s.*
Student's Edition. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 12*s.*
People's Edition. 4 vols. cr. 8vo. 16*s.*
Cabinet Edition. 8 vols. post 8vo. 48*s.*
Edinburgh Edition. 4 vols. 8vo. 6*s.* each.
Library Edition. 5 vols. 8vo. £4.

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS, with LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME, in 1 volume.

Popular Edition. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* | Silver Library Edit. Crown 8vo. 3*s* 6*d.*
Authorised Edition. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*, or 3*s.* 6*d.* gilt edges.

[*Continued.*

STANDARD HISTORICAL WORKS.

MACAULAY.—Works by LORD MACAULAY (*continued*):

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS.
Student's Edition. 1 vol. cr. 8vo. 6*s*.
People's Edition. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 8*s*.
Trevelyan Edition. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 9*s*.
Cabinet Edition. 4 vols. post 8vo. 24*s*.
Library Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 36*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS AND SPEECHES.
Popular Edition. Crown 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.
Student's Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.
Cabinet Edition. Including Indian Penal Code, Lays of Ancient Rome, and Miscellaneous Poems. 4 vols. post 8vo. 24*s*.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF LORD MACAULAY. Edited, with Occasional Notes, by the Right Hon. Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, Bart. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

MAY.—THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND since the Accession of George III. 1760–1870. By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B. (Lord Farnborough). 3 vols. crown 8vo. 18*s*.

MERIVALE.—Works by the Very Rev. CHARLES MERIVALE, late Dean of Ely.

HISTORY OF THE ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE.
Cabinet Edition. 8 vols. crown 8vo. 48*s*.
Popular Edition. 8 vols. crown 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC: a Short History of the Last Century of the Commonwealth. 12mo. 7*s*. 6*d*.

MONTAGUE.—THE ELEMENTS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, from the Earliest Time to the Present Day. By F. C. MONTAGUE, M.A. Crown 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SEEBOHM.—Works by FREDERICK SEEBOHM, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE ENGLISH VILLAGE COMMUNITY Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems, &c. With 13 Maps and Plates. 8vo. 16*s*.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES: being part of an Inquiry into the Structure and Methods of Tribal Society. With 3 Maps. 8vo. 16*s*.

SMITH.—CARTHAGE AND THE CARTHAGINIANS. By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A. With Maps, Plans, &c. Crown 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

STEPHENS.—A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By H. MORSE STEPHENS, Balliol College, Oxford. 3 vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and II., 18*s*. each.

TODD.—PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN THE BRITISH COLONIES. By ALPHEUS TODD, LL.D. 8vo. 30*s*. net.

WALPOLE.—Works by SPENCER WALPOLE.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE GREAT WAR IN 1815 TO 1858. 6 vols. crown 8vo. 6*s*. each.

THE LAND OF HOME RULE: being an Account of the History and Institutions of the Isle of Man. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

WYLIE.—HISTORY OF ENGLAND UNDER HENRY IV. By JAMES HAMILTON WYLIE, M.A., one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. 4 vols. crown 8vo. Vol. I., 1399–1404, 10*s*. 6*d*. Vol. II., 15*s*. Vol. III., 15*s*.
[*Vol. IV. in preparation.*

LONGMANS & CO.'S POPULAR NOVELS.

By H. RIDER HAGGARD.
Heart of the World 15 Illustrations 6s
Joan Haste. 20 Illustrations 3s 6d
The People of the Mist. 16 Illustrations 3s. 6d
She 32 Illustrations 3s 6d.
Allan Quatermain. 31 Illustrations. 3s 6d.
Maiwa's Revenge. 1s 6d
Colonel Quaritch, V.C. 3s 6d.
Cleopatra. 29 Illustrations 3s 6d
Eric Brighteyes. 51 Illustrations 3s 6d
Beatrice. 3s 6d.
Nada the Lily. 23 Illustrations 3s 6d
Montezuma's Daughter. 24 Illus 3s 6d
Allan's Wife. 34 Illustrations 3s 6d.
The Witch's Head. 16 Illustrations. 3s 6d.
Mr. Meeson's Will. 16 Illustrations 3s. 6d
Dawn. 16 Illustrations. 3s 6d.

By H. RIDER HAGGARD and ANDREW LANG.
The World's Desire. 27 Illustrations 3s 6d.

By ANDREW LANG.
A Monk of Fife. 13 Illustrations. 6s

By J. A. FROUDE.
The Two Chiefs of Dunboy. 3s 6d

By A. C. DOYLE.
Micah Clarke. 10 Illustrations 3s 6d
The Captain of the 'Polestar' &c. 3s. 6d
The Refugees 25 Illustrations 3s 6d.
The Stark-Munro Letters. 6s

By STANLEY J. WEYMAN.
The House of the Wolf. 3s 6d
A Gentleman of France. 6s
The Red Cockade. 6s.

By the EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.
Vivian Grey. | Tancred.
Venetia. | Sybil.
Coningsby. | Alroy, Ixion, &c.
Lothair. | Endymion.
The Young Duke, &c
Contarini Fleming, &c.
Henrietta Temple.
Price 1s 6d each

By G. J. WHYTE-MELVILLE.
The Gladiators. | Kate Coventry.
The Interpreter. | Digby Grand.
Holmby House. | General Bounce.
Good for Nothing.
Queen's Maries.
Price 1s 6d each.

By ELIZABETH M. SEWELL
Amy Herbert. | Cleve Hall.
Gertrude. | Ivors
Ursula. | Earl's Daughter.
Home Life. | After Life.
The Experience of Life.
A Glimpse of the World.
Katharine Ashton
Margaret Percival.
Laneton Parsonage.
Price 1s 6d. each, 2s 6d each, gilt edges.

By L. B. WALFORD.
Mr Smith. | Dick Netherby.
The Baby's Grandmother. | A Stiff-Necked Generation.
Cousins. | Nan, and other Stories.
Troublesome Daughters. | The Mischief of Monica.
Pauline. | The One Good Guest.
The History of a Week.
'Ploughed,' and other Stories.
The Matchmaker.
Price 2s 6d. each.

By R. L. STEVENSON.
More New Arabian Nights—The Dynamiter. 3s 6d.
Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; with other Fables. 3s 6d.

By R. L. STEVENSON & LI. OSBOURNE.
The Wrong Box. 3s 6d

By EDNA LYALL.
The Autobiography of a Slander. 1s.
Presentation Edition, with 20 Illustrations by Lancelot Speed 2s 6d. net
Doreen, the Story of a Singer. 6s.

By H. SETON MERRIMAN.
Flotsam. 6s

By ANTHONY HOPE.
The Heart of Princess Osra. 6s

By ANTHONY TROLLOPE.
The Warden. 1s 6d
Barchester Towers 1s 6d

By Mrs. OLIPHANT.
Old Mr. Tredgold. 6s

By C. PHILLIPPS-WOLLEY
Snap. 1s. Illustrations. 3s. 6d

By BRET HARTE.
In the Carquinez Woods, &c 3s 6d.

By L. DOUGALL.
Beggars All. 3s 6d
What Necessity Knows. 6s

By OWEN RHOSCOMYL
The Jewel of Ynys Galon. 3s. 6d
Battlement and Tower. 6s.
For the White Rose of Arno. 6s.

By FRED WHISHAW.
A Boyar of the Terrible. 6s

By Mrs DELAND.
The Wisdom of Fools 5s.

By JEROME K. JEROME.
Sketches in Lavender · Blue and Green. 6s.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

THE SILVER LIBRARY.

Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each Volume.

	s.	*d.*
Arnold's (Sir Edwin) Seas and Lands. With 71 Illustrations ...	3	6
Bagehot's (W.) Biographical Studies...	3	6
Bagehot's (W.) Economic Studies	3	6
Bagehot's (W.) Literary Studies. With Portrait. 3 vols.... ... each	3	6
Baker's (Sir S. W.) Eight Years in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations...	3	6
Baker's (Sir S. W.) Rifle and Hound in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations	3	6
Baring-Gould's (Rev. S.) Curious Myths of the Middle Ages ...	3	6
Baring-Gould's (Rev. S.) Origin and Development of Religious Belief. 2 vols. ... each	3	6
Becker's (Prof.) Gallus; or, Roman Scenes in the Time of Augustus. Illustrated	3	6
Becker's (Prof.) Charicles: or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. Illustrated ...	3	6
Bent's (J. T.) The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland. With 117 Illustrations	3	6
Brassey's (Lady) A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam.' With 66 Illustrations	3	6
Clodd's (E.) Story of Creation: a Plain Account of Evolution. With 77 Illustrations	3	6
Conybeare (Rev. W. J.) and Howson's (Very Rev. J. S.) Life and Epistles of St. Paul. With 46 Illustrations	3	6
Dougall's (L.) Beggars All: a Novel	3	6
Doyle's (A. Conan) Micah Clarke: a Tale of Monmouth's Rebellion. With 10 Illustrations	3	6
Doyle's (A. Conan) The Captain of the 'Polestar,' and other Tales	3	6
Doyle's (A. Conan) The Refugees: a Tale of the Huguenots. With 25 Illustrations	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) The History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. 12 vols. each	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) Short Studies on Great Subjects. 4 vols. each	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) Cæsar: a Sketch...	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life.		
1795–1835. 2 vols.	7	0
1834–1881. 2 vols.	7	0
Froude's (J. A.) The Spanish Story of the Armada, &c. ...	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) The Two Chiefs of Dunboy: an Irish Romance ...	3	6
Froude's (J. A.) The English in Ireland. 3 vols.	10	6
Gleig's (Rev. G. R.) Life of the Duke of Wellington	3	6
Greville's (C. C. F.) Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria. 8 vols.... each	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) She. With 32 Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Allan Quatermain. With 20 Illustrations ...	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Colonel Quaritch, V.C.: a Tale of Country Life...	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Cleopatra. With 29 Full-page Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Eric Brighteyes. With 51 Illustrations ...	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Beatrice ...	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Joan Haste. With 20 Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Allan's Wife. With 34 Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) The Witch's Head. With 16 Illustrations ...	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Mr. Meeson's Will. With 16 Illustrations ...	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Nada the Lily. With 23 Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Montezuma's Daughter. With 25 Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) Dawn. With 16 Illustrations	3	6
Haggard's (H. R.) The People of the Mist. With 16 Illustrations...	3	6
Haggard (H. R.) and Lang's (A.) The World's Desire. With 27 Illustrations	3	6
Harte's (Bret) In the Carquinez Woods, and other Stories	3	6
Helmholtz's (Hermann von) Lectures on Scientific Subjects. With 68 Illustrations. 2 vols. each	3	6
Hornung's (E. W.) The Unbidden Guest	3	6
Howitt's (W.) Visits to Remarkable Places. With 80 Illustrations	3	6

THE SILVER LIBRARY.

Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each Volume.

	s.	*d.*
Jefferies' (R.) The Story of my Heart. With Portrait	3	6
Jefferies' (R.) Field and Hedgerow. With Portrait	3	6
Jefferies' (R.) Red Deer. With 17 Illustrations	3	6
Jefferies' (R.) Wood Magic: a Fable. With Frontispiece and Vignette by E. V. B.	3	6
Jefferies' (R.) The Toilers of the Field. With Portrait from the Bust in Salisbury Cathedral	3	6
Kaye (Sir J.) and Malleson's (Colonel) History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8. 6 vols. each (*Vols. I.-III. ready. Vols. IV.-VI. in the Autumn.*)	3	6
Knight's (E. F.) Where Three Empires Meet: a Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Baltistan, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries. With a Map and 54 Illustrations	3	6
Knight's (E. F.) The Cruise of the 'Alerte': the Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad. With 2 Maps and 23 Illustrations	3	6
Knight's (E. F.) The 'Falcon' on the Baltic. With Map and 11 Illustrations	3	6
Lang's (A.) Angling Sketches. With 20 Illustrations	3	6
Lang's (A.) Custom and Myth: Studies of Early Usage and Belief ...	3	6
Lang's (A.) Cock Lane and Common-Sense	3	6
Lees (J. A.) and Clutterbuck's (W. J.) B.C. 1887, A Ramble in British Columbia. With Maps and 75 Illustrations	3	6
Macaulay's (Lord) Essays and Lays of Ancient Rome. With Portrait and Illustrations to the 'Lays'	3	6
Macleod's (H. D.) Elements of Banking	3	6
Marbot's (Baron de) Memoirs. Translated. 2 vols.	7	0
Marshman's (J. C.) Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock	3	6
Max Müller's (F.) India, what can it teach us?	3	6
Max Muller's (F.) Introduction to the Science of Religion ...	3	6
Merivale's (Dean) History of the Romans under the Empire. 8 vols. each	3	6
Mill's (J. S.) Political Economy	3	6
Mill's (J. S.) System of Logic ...	3	6
Milner's (Geo.) Country Pleasures: the Chronicle of a Year chiefly in a Garden	3	6
Nansen's (F.) The First Crossing of Greenland. With Illustrations and a Map	3	6
Phillipps-Wolley's (C.) Snap: a Legend of the Lone Mountain. With 13 Illustrations	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) The Orbs Around Us	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) The Expanse of Heaven	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Other Worlds than Ours	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Rough Ways made Smooth	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Pleasant Ways in Science	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Myths and Marvels of Astronomy	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Nature Studies	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Other Suns than Ours	3	6
Proctor's (R. A.) Our Place among Infinities	3	6
Proctor (R. A.), Clodd (E.), Ranyard (A. C.), and others, Leisure Readings	3	6
Rhoscomyl's (Owen) The Jewel of Ynys Galon	3	6
Rossetti's (Maria F.) A Shadow of Dante	3	6
Smith's (R. Bosworth) Carthage and the Carthaginians. With Maps, Plans, &c.	3	6
Stanley's (Bishop) Familiar History of Birds. With 160 Illustrations	3	6
Stevenson's (R. L.) The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; with other Fables	3	6
Stevenson (R. L.) and Osbourne's (Ll.) The Wrong Box	3	6
Stevenson's (R. L.) and (Fanny van de Grift) More New Arabian Nights.—The Dynamiter	3	6
Weyman's (Stanley J.) The House of the Wolf: a Romance	3	6
Wood's (Rev. J. G.) Petland Revisited. With 33 Illustrations	3	6
Wood's (Rev. J. G.) Strange Dwellings. With 60 Illustrations	3	6
Wood's (Rev. J. G.) Out of Doors. With 11 Illustrations ...	3	6

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

NEW EDITION OF QUAIN'S 'DICTIONARY OF MEDICINE.'

Revised throughout and Enlarged.

With 181 Illustrations. Two VOLUMES, medium 8vo. Price FORTY SHILLINGS net.

A DICTIONARY of MEDICINE

INCLUDING GENERAL PATHOLOGY, GENERAL THERAPEUTICS, HYGIENE, and the DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

By VARIOUS WRITERS.

Edited by RICHARD QUAIN, Bart.

M.D.Lond., LL.D.Edin. (Hon.), F.R.S.

Physician-Extraordinary to Her Majesty the Queen; President of the General Medical Council, &c.

ASSISTED BY

FREDERICK THOMAS ROBERTS, M.D.Lond., B.Sc.; and

J. MITCHELL BRUCE, M.A.Abdn., M.D.Lond.

Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London, &c.

MEDICAL TIMES.—'It is unnecessary, indeed, to say that it is the standard work of medicine of the present day.'

LANCET.—'This work is representative of all that is best in British medicine. . . . Whether we regard the attainments of the writers, the scope of their articles, or the marvellously complete collection of subjects, there can be no hesitation in regarding the Dictionary of Medicine as a work of standard excellence, not unworthy to rank with the encyclopædic undertakings which have been produced in France and Germany.'

SATURDAY REVIEW.—'The new edition of "Quain's Dictionary" will be heartily welcomed, not only by the medical profession, but by a much larger public. It has fully established its position as a standard work of reference, which ought to find a place in every good library. No other publication of the kind contains such a comprehensive and authoritative compendium of modern medical knowledge, so conveniently arranged and packed into so small a compass.'

BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL.—'In preparing this new edition the fact had to be faced that never in the history of medicine had progress been so rapid as in the last twelve years. New facts have been ascertained, and new ways of looking at old facts have come to be recognised as true. The task of revision was by no means an easy one, but, as far as practicable, the old articles have been revised by the original writers; where death had unfortunately made gaps in their ranks, the articles were committed to the hands of the most competent successors.'

SCOTSMAN.—'A new edition of a book well known and highly valued in medical libraries. . . . The names of all the prominent specialists are in the list of contributors; and Sir Richard Quain is careful to take upon himself the responsibility for the whole book, and thus to add considerably to its authority.'

STANDARD.—'This new edition of "Quain's Dictionary" comes to our assistance just at the right moment. It gives us an authoritative summary of the results of recent research all the world over, shows us how much of the knowledge so gained is certain and how much is still doubtful, and indicates the practical bearings of the whole subject.'

TIMES.—'This book furnishes a conspicuous example of the effects of judiciously combined and skilfully organised labour. . . . The Editor has spared no pains in order to maintain a high standard of excellence throughout. Some of the contributions afford typical examples of the masterly condensation of thorough knowledge; and in the wide field of medical science there is probably no subject of importance which has been neglected or omitted.'

NATURE.—'To bring the book up to the present state of knowledge was a laborious task, for, since the first edition was published, the science and practice of medicine have made enormous progress, and many new developments have occurred. The work had, in fact, to be completely revised, and a large number of new articles had to be prepared. The result of these expansions is that the Dictionary now consists of two volumes, entirely reprinted, while the number of pages has been increased from 1,834 to 2,518.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

BY LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S., F.R.C.P.

Emeritus Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine in King's College London; Consulting Physician to the Hospital.

Now Ready. FOURTH EDITION. 5s.

SLIGHT AILMENTS; and on Treating Disease, including consideration of the Principles which should guide us in the treatment of CHRONIC NEURALGIA, RHEUMATISM, RHEUMATOID ARTHRITIS, and GOUTY TENDENCY.

THE LIVER. Pp. 230. 86 Illustrations, many Coloured. 5s.

OUR MORALITY AND THE MORAL QUESTION. Second Edition, much enlarged. 3s. 6d.

London: J. & A. CHURCHILL.

Now Ready. FOURTH EDITION. 5s.

PROTOPLASM: Physical Life and Law, or Nature as Viewed from Without. Facts and Arguments against Mechanical Views of Life as accepted by Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Strauss, Tyndall, and many others.

FIFTH EDITION. Enlarged to 576 Pages and 100 Plates. 21s.

HOW TO WORK WITH THE MICROSCOPE: a Manual of Microscopical Manipulation, from the very Rudiments to the Use of the Highest Powers.

HARRISON & SONS, PALL MALL.

NEW BOOK BY THE AUTHOR OF 'JOHN WARD, PREACHER.'

THE WISDOM OF FOOLS.

By MARGARET DELAND.

Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

DAILY TELEGRAPH.—'Four clever stories . . . extremely clever and analytic studies of life.'

GUARDIAN.—'We cannot pra'se too much the delicacy of workmanship and originality of invention that have gone to the making of these stories.'

ACADEMY.—'"The Wisdom of Fools" is the general title of four short stories, each of which deals with some problem of life and conduct. The first story held me. . . . There are a dozen reasons why you should read it.'

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—'High as is the artistic value of these stories, their chief interest centres in the moral problems of one kind or another which are here presented, discussed, and left without a solution. . . . Mrs. Deland's treatment of such questions is marked by a rare impartiality and absence of dogmatism. She has the gift of displaying her subject from many points of view. She is suggestive without being didactic, and, though the action of her characters may point a moral, the characters themselves never fail to be interesting men and women.'

NEW BOOK BY MR. J. K. JEROME.

SKETCHES IN LAVENDER:

BLUE AND GREEN.

By JEROME K. JEROME.

Crown 8vo. 6s.

SCOTSMAN.—'The stories are told with a considerable amount of humour, and show no small knowledge of human nature.'

DUNDEE ADVERTISER.—'A book perfectly suited to the season; light fiction and playful humour.'

DERBY MERCURY.—'A score of stories or sketches, brief, brisk, and breezy, which can be read without an effort, and which please by their humour, their cleverness, their satire, and the fineness and polish of the workmanship.'

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—'Mr. Jerome's dialogue is vivacious and probable. . . . He expresses with ease and appropriateness all the funny things that the average cockney conceives. . . . He knows by heart the proverbial philosophy of a class and a generation.'

WORLD.—'Altogether a very good book wherewith to beguile the time on a railway journey, and thoroughly unæsthetic, which is not its least recommendation. Since "Stageland" Mr. Jerome has given us nothing better than these stories.'

BLACK AND WHITE.—'The author has collected material of a sort to gratify all his audiences. Rollicking fun and subtle character-drawing mingle in the "Sketches," and it is hard to believe the same pen could tell these stories, for they cover a wide field of wit, humour, and pathos; sharing but one quality in common—a high note of literary workmanship. Indeed, Mr. Jerome has never written so well.'

QUEEN.—'Mr. Jerome has been one of the most potent humorists of the age. It is easy to find this or the other fault with the new humour of which he is the great master, but the fact remains that his humour has appealed to hundreds of thousands, and that his name is one of the best known in contemporary English literature. But the real man behind this is most serious. . . . His contempt of shams and conventions, his philanthropic sensitiveness, loom out largely, and the present volume includes the best instances of his pathetic writings, as well as flashes of his old humour. . . . Mr. Jerome has lost none of his quaint humour.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

In 1 vol. imperial 8vo. pp. 1,800, £2. 2s. in cloth; or £2. 12s. 6d. in half-morocco.

LONGMANS'

GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD

EDITED BY

GEORGE G. CHISHOLM, M.A., B.Sc.

Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Statistical Societies.

From the 'GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL.'

'In three thousand five hundred columns Mr. Chisholm has compiled an entirely new Gazetteer, every article written afresh, replete with the latest statistics, and verified by competent authorities. Besides the names of ten authors who have contributed signed articles on important places and subjects, a list is given of three hundred and twenty-four persons who have assisted in revising notices. These facts of themselves give great confidence as to the trustworthiness of the work, and repeated testing of the references entirely confirms that confidence. Mr. Chisholm has devoted special attention to the spelling of place-names, and his Gazetteer is the nearest approach yet made to an authentic geographical index carried out on the principles laid down by the Royal Geographical Society. Numerous common prefixes to geographical names receive a note explaining their meaning and application, and, in addition to modern place-names, a certain number of obsolete and classical synonyms is introduced. General subjects, such as oceans, continents, &c., are also included. Populations are dealt with in a somewhat novel way, being expressed in round numbers, and, in the case of villages and small towns, often given as < 500, < 2000, &c. This, while quite close enough for purposes of general reference, makes correction of the statistics in later editions a much easier task than it would otherwise be. There are some omissions, due undoubtedly to accident, but, all in all, the work is full and very thorough, and has the crowning advantage of being all brought down to one date, and that date is the very year of publication. The labour involved in the compilation of such works can hardly be imagined by those who have not taken part in similar productions, and it is pleasant indeed to see a Gazetteer where every labourer gets due credit for the part he has taken in it. **For this possession Messrs. Longmans have earned the gratitude of all who require fresh, accurate, and responsible information as to places at home and abroad.'**

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

WILLIAM MORRIS'S WORKS.

POETICAL WORKS.

LIBRARY EDITION—Complete in Ten Volumes, crown 8vo. price 6s. each, viz.:—

THE EARTHLY PARADISE. 4 vols. 6s. each.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JASON. 6s.

THE DEFENCE OF GUENEVERE, and other Poems. 6s.

THE STORY OF SIGURD THE VOLSUNG, and the Fall of the Niblungs. 6s.

POEMS BY THE WAY; and **LOVE IS ENOUGH;** or, The Freeing of Pharamond: a Morality. 6s.

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER. Done into English Verse. 6s.

THE ÆNEIDS OF VIRGIL. Done into English Verse. 6s.

Certain of the Poetical Works may also be had in the following Editions:—

THE EARTHLY PARADISE. Popular Edition. In 5 vols 12mo. 25s.; or 5s. each, sold separately.
The same in Ten Parts, 25s.; or 2s. 6d. each, sold separately.
Cheap Edition in 1 vol. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LOVE IS ENOUGH; or, The Freeing of Pharamond: a Morality. Square crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

POEMS BY THE WAY. Square crown 8vo. 6s.

PROSE WORKS.

THE WELL AT THE WORLD'S END. A Tale. 2 Vols. 8vo. 28s. [*Just published.*

THE STORY OF THE GLITTERING PLAIN, which has been also called The Land of the Living Men, or the Acre of the Undying. Square post 8vo. 5s. net.

THE ROOTS OF THE MOUNTAINS, wherein is told somewhat of the Lives of the Men of Burgdale, their Friends, their Neighbours, their Foemen, and their Fellows-in-Arms. Written in Prose and Verse. Square crown 8vo. 8s.

A TALE OF THE HOUSE OF THE WOLFINGS, and all the Kindreds of the Mark. Written in Prose and Verse. Square crown 8vo. 6s.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL and **A KING'S LESSON.** 12mo. 1s. 6d.

SIGNS OF CHANGE; Seven Lectures delivered on various Occasions. Post 8vo. 4s. 6d.

HOPES AND FEARS FOR ART: Five Lectures delivered in Birmingham, London, &c. 1878–1881. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE; or, An Epoch of Rest, Being some Chapters from an Utopian Romance. Post 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THE MOST NUTRITIOUS COCOA

EPPS'S Breakfast and Supper.

GRATEFUL—COMFORTING.

Boiling Water or Milk. COCOA

WITH FULL NATURAL FLAVOUR.

DINNEFORD'S MAGNESIA.

A pure Solution.
For Acidity of the Stomach.
For Heartburn and Headache.
For Gout and Indigestion.
Safest Aperient for delicate Constitutions, Ladies, Children, and Infants.

SOLD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

WORKS BY MRS. DE SALIS ON COOKERY, ETC.

CAKES AND CONFECTIONS À LA MODE. Third Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
DOGS: a Manual for Amateurs. Second Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
DRESSED GAME AND POULTRY À LA MODE. Second Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
DRESSED VEGETABLES À LA MODE. Third Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
DRINKS À LA MODE. Second Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
ENTREES À LA MODE. Tenth Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
FLORAL DECORATIONS. 1*s.* 6*d.*
GARDENING À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo. Part I. Vegetables, 1*s.* 6*d.* Part II. Fruits, 1*s* 6*d*
NATIONAL VIANDS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*
NEW-LAID EGGS. 1*s.* 6*d.*
OYSTERS À LA MODE. Second Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
PUDDINGS AND PASTRY À LA MODE. Fourth Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
SAVOURIES A LA MODE. Fourteenth Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
SOUPS AND DRESSED FISH À LA MODE. Fifth Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
SWEETS AND SUPPER DISHES À LA MODE. Fifth Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
TEMPTING DISHES FOR SMALL INCOMES. Fifth Edition. 1*s.* 6*d.*
WRINKLES AND NOTIONS FOR EVERY HOUSEHOLD. Second Edition. 1*s* 6*d.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

Spottiswoode & Co. Printers, New-street Square, London.

39 Paternoster Row, E.C.
London, July 16, 1897.

MESSRS. LONGMANS & CO.'S

QUARTERLY LIST

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

NEW BOOKS BY SAMUEL R. GARDINER, D.C.L.

Cromwell's Place in History.
Founded on Six Lectures delivered at Oxford. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L. LL.D. Ford's Lecturer, 1896. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

'Professor GARDINER must be content with having produced the most *reasonable* estimate of CROMWELL'S genius which has yet been given.'—PALL MALL GAZETTE.

'It would be difficult to speak too highly of the tone and temper of Dr. GARDINER'S study of CROMWELL'S place in history. The book has but one hundred and sixteen pages, yet in it is contained an extraordinarily perfect appreciation of CROMWELL as a statesman and ruler.'—SPECTATOR.

'It need hardly be said that Professor GARDINER is the greatest living authority upon the period of which he treats, and his deliberate judgment of CROMWELL comes accordingly with great weight and significance.'—ACADEMY.

What Gunpowder Plot was: a Reply to Father Gerard. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L. LL.D. With 8 Illustrations and Plans. Crown 8vo. 5*s.* [*Ready.*

A History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. 1649–1660. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L. LL.D. Vol. II. With Maps. 8vo. [*In the press.*

Julian Corbett.

Drake and the Tudor Navy, with a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power. By JULIAN CORBETT. With Portraits, Illustrations, and Maps. 2 vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*

Sir John Evans, K.C.B.

The Ancient Stone Implements,

Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain. By Sir JOHN EVANS, K.C.B. D.C.L. LL.D. Sc.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. &c. Correspondant de l'Institut de France. Second Edition, Revised. With 537 Illustrations. 8vo. 28*s.* [*Ready.*

*** *The first edition of this work was published in* 1872, *and has long been out of print. Since that time numerous discoveries have been made of objects both of neolithic and palæolithic age, which have necessitated considerable additions to the original work, inasmuch as all the principal discoveries of stone antiquities that have taken place in Britain during the last quarter of a century are more or less fully recorded in the new edition. The principal additions that have been made relate to the palæolithic period, concerning which our knowledge has been much enlarged within the last twenty-five years. The new illustrations, partly borrowed from the publications of different learned societies, but to a great extent specially engraved for the work from original specimens, are upwards of sixty in number. Although to a certain extent re-written, the book still retains its original form and character, and no alteration has been made in the numbering of the figures, the new illustrations being indicated by letters affixed to the numbers.*

The late George John Romanes, M.A.

Darwin, and After Darwin: an Exposition

of the Darwinian Theory and a Discussion of Post-Darwinian Questions. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A. LL.D. F.R.S. Honorary Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. PART III. Post-Darwinian Questions: Isolation and Physiological Selection. [*In the press.*

Arthur Lillie.

Croquet: its History, Rules, and Secrets.

By ARTHUR LILLIE, Champion, Grand National Croquet Club, 1872; Winner of the 'All Comers' Championship,' Maidstone, 1896. With 4 Full-page Illustrations by LUCIEN DAVIS, 15 Illustrations in the Text, and 27 Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*Ready.*

Lieut.-Col. G. F. Henderson.

The Life of Stonewall Jackson.

By Lieut.-Col. G. F. HENDERSON, York and Lancaster Regiment. With Portrait, Maps, and Plans. 2 vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*

Lord Ribblesdale.

The Queen's Hounds, and Stag-Hunting Recollections.

By Lord RIBBLESDALE, Master of the Buckhounds, 1892–95. With Introductory Chapter on the Hereditary Mastership by E. BURROWS. With Illustrations by G. D. GILES, and from Prints and Drawings in the Collections of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle and Cumberland Lodge. [*In the press.*

*** *A limited number of copies will be printed on Large Paper.*

THE FUR, FEATHER, AND FIN SERIES.

*** *Messrs. Longmans have been repeatedly asked to publish monographs on certain fish which are chiefly sought after by Anglers, written on the plan of their popular Fur and Feather Series. They have therefore added 'Fin' to 'Fur and Feather,' and announce 'The Trout' as the first volume in this section.*

The Trout.

By the MARQUIS OF GRANBY, &c. With Illustrations. [*In preparation.*

The Rabbit.

By J. E. HARTING, &c. [*In preparation.*

J. K. Laughton.

The Life and Letters of Henry Reeve, C.B.

late Editor of the *Edinburgh Review* and Registrar of the Privy Council. By J. K. LAUGHTON, M.A. [*In preparation.*

Graham Wallas.

The Life of Francis Place.

By GRAHAM WALLAS. [*In the press.*

COMPLETION OF THE LIFE OF DR. PUSEY.

Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D.

By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D. D.C.L. LL.D. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A. Principal of the Theological College, Cuddesdon; the Rev. ROBERT J. WILSON, D.D. late Warden of Keble College; and the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A. Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. 4 vols. 8vo. Vol. IV. With Portraits and Illustrations. [*In the press.*

NEW BOOK BY CANON KNOX LITTLE.

The Perfect Life.

By W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A. Canon Residentiary of Worcester, and Vicar of Hoar Cross. [*In the press.*

Richard W. Hiley, D.D.

A Year's Sermons. Based upon some

of the Scriptures appointed for each Sunday morning. Vol. III. Supplementing the Course with Sermons for Evening Service. By RICHARD W. HILEY, D.D. of S. Mary Hall, Oxford; Vicar of Wighill, Tadcaster, Yorks. [*In the press.*

Sermons preached in the Cathedral at

the Commemoration of Founders of the King's School, Canterbury, on Speech Day, 1887 to 1896. Crown 8vo. [*Nearly ready.*

CONTENTS.—1887. The Changing and the Sure. By the Rev. THOMAS FIELD, D.D. formerly Head Master of the King's School, Warden of Radley College—1888. 'Abide in Me.' By the Rev. HENRY MONTAGU BUTLER, D.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge—1889. Faith and Consecration. By the Rev. ROBERT LAWRENCE OTTLEY, M.A. Principal of Pusey House, and Senior Student of Christ Church, Oxford—1890. Past and Present. By the Rev. HENRY GEORGE WOODS, D.D. President of Trinity College, Oxford—1891. Man goeth forth. By the Rev. HERBERT SPENSER SWITHINBANK, M.A. Vicar of St. Saviour's, Denmark Park—1892. The Monastic Orders and our Public Schools. By the Rev. Prebendary GIBSON, D.D. Vicar of Leeds—1893. The Touchstone of Conscious Christianity. By the Rev. CHARLES MACKESON, Vicar of All Hallows, North St. Pancras, London—1894. Religion the Basis of Education. By the Rev. ROBERT J. WILSON, D.D. late Warden of Keble College, and Hon. Fellow of Merton College, Oxford—1895. True Manhood. By the Very Rev. FREDERIC WILLIAM FARRAR, D.D. F.R.S. Dean of Canterbury—1896. Scholars at the Cross. By the Rev. MOSSE MACDONALD, M.A. St. Alban the Martyr, Birmingham.

Rev. R. L. Ottley, M.A.

The Bampton Lectures for 1897.

By the Rev. R. L. OTTLEY, M.A. Principal of the Pusey House, Oxford. 8vo. [*In the press.*

The Oxford House Papers.

Written by Members of the University of Oxford. Third Series. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

B. W. Randolph, M.A.

The Threshold of the Sanctuary: being

Short Chapters on the Inner Preparation for the Priesthood. By B. W. RANDOLPH, M.A. Principal of Ely Theological College, Hon. Canon of Ely, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

F. Nutcombe Oxenham, D.D.

The Validity of Papal Claims: Five

Lectures delivered in Rome. By F. NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, D.D. English Chaplain at Rome. With a Preface by the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

Louisa E. Dobrée.

Stories on the Rosary.

By LOUISA EMILY DOBRÉE, Author of 'Stories of the Seven Sacraments' &c. Part I. Containing 5 Stories. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

Rev. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, M.A.

The Church and the Bible.

By the Rev. W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A. Vicar of St. Mark's, Regent's Park. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

Ellen Maples.

The Life of Chauncy Maples, D.D.

Bishop of Likoma (British Central Africa). By his Sister, ELLEN MAPLES. With Photogravure Portrait. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

J. K. Fowler, M.D. and R. J. Godlee, M.B.

The Diseases of the Lungs.

By JAMES KINGSTON FOWLER, M.A. M.D. F.R.C.P. Physician and Lecturer on Pathological Anatomy, Middlesex Hospital; Physician to the Brompton Hospital for Consumption, &c.; and RICKMAN J. GODLEE, B.A.Lond. M.B. F.R.C.S. Member of the Court of Examiners, R.C.S. England, Surgeon to the Brompton Hospital for Consumption, &c. [*In the press.*

W. R. Dakin, M.D.

A Manual of Midwifery.

By WILLIAM RADFORD DAKIN, M.D. F.R.C.P. Obstetrical Physician and Lecturer on Midwifery at St. George's Hospital; Physician to the General Lying-in Hospital, &c. With Illustrations. [*In the press.*

Surgeon Lieut.-Col. W. B. Stevenson.

The Treatment of Wounds in War.

By Surgeon Lieut.-Col. W. B. STEVENSON, Army Medical School, Netley. 8vo. 18*s.* [*In the press.*

J. Jackson Clarke, M.B. (Lond.).

Surgical Pathology and Principles.

By J. JACKSON CLARKE, M.B. (Lond.) F.R.C.S. Assistant Surgeon to the North-West London Hospital; Pathologist and Curator of the Museum at St. Mary's Hospital. With numerous Illustrations. [*In the press.*

Augustus D. Waller, M.D.

Lectures on Animal Electricity.

Delivered at the Royal Institute of Great Britain. By AUGUSTUS D. WALLER, M.D. F.R.S. Lecturer on Physiology to St. Mary's Hospital Medical School. [*In the press.*

M. M. Pattison Muir, M.A.

A Course of Practical Chemistry.

By M. M. PATTISON MUIR, M.A. Fellow and Prælector in Chemistry of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

NEW BOOKS BY ANDREW LANG.

Modern Mythology.

By ANDREW LANG, M.A. LL.D. St. Andrews, Hon. Fellow of Merton College, sometime Gifford Lecturer in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo. 9*s*. [*Ready.*

A Book of Dreams and Ghosts.

By ANDREW LANG. Crown 8vo. 6*s*. [*Nearly ready.*

*** *Previous works on this subject have been remarkably lax in the matter of evidence. In this book original sources are always investigated, and some manuscripts have been discovered and made use of. Thus, one celebrated Australian story of 'Fisher's Ghost' is here told from the judge's notes at the trial and from the newspaper report of the day. A manuscript by Mr. Wyndham, who knew the seer of the Duke of Buckingham's father's ghost, and was in his society at the time, is reproduced. All contemporary evidence for Lord Lyttelton's ghost is analysed, and Williams's dream of Mr. Perceval's murder is given in the dreamer's own words. The Ricketts and Wesley ghosts are similarly treated. A number of modern stories at first-hand are produced, some by the permission of the Society for Psychical Research. Icelandic, Chinese, and Highland ghosts are criticised.*

MR. LANG'S CHRISTMAS BOOK FOR 1897.

The Pink Fairy Book.

Edited by ANDREW LANG. With numerous Illustrations by H. J. FORD. Crown 8vo. 6*s*. [*In the press.*

NEW SERIES OF SELECTIONS FROM THE POETS.

Wordsworth.

By ANDREW LANG. With Illustrations by ALFRED PARSONS, A.R.A. Crown 8vo. 6*s*. gilt edges.

[*In the press.*

*** *While many students of British Verse find leisure to read the complete works of those authors who have attained celebrity, there is a much more numerous class who, not being professed students of literature, can only afford the time to make themselves acquainted with the best work of our great poets. For the benefit of these readers Mr. Lang has consented to edit a series of volumes, each of which will contain that portion of the works of the writer which in critical opinion most deserves immortality. The books will be freely illustrated and published in dainty style. The first volume will be* WORDSWORTH, *illustrated by Mr. Alfred Parsons, A.R.A. Succeeding volumes will contain selections from* COLERIDGE, SCOTT, BYRON, *and other poets.*

NEW BOOK BY MR. AND MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

Industrial Democracy: a Study in Trade Unionism.

By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. 2 vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*

*** *This work is an exhaustive analysis of Trade Unionism and its relation to other Democratic movements, to which 'The History of Trade Unionism,' published in* 1894, *may be regarded as an introduction.*

Alexander Sutherland, M.A.

The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instincts.

By ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, M.A. [*In the press.*

The Right Hon. D. H. Madden.

The Diary of Master William Silence:

a Study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan Sport. By the Right Hon. D. H. MADDEN, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. 8vo. 16*s.* [*In September.*

NEW BOOK BY GEORGE MACDONALD, LL.D.

Rampolli: Growths from an Old Root:

being Translations, New and Old, chiefly from the German; along with A YEAR'S DIARY OF AN OLD SOUL. By GEORGE MACDONALD, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*In the press.*

John Lucas Tupper.

Poems.

By JOHN LUCAS TUPPER. Selected and Edited by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. [*In the press.*

*** *The author of these poems was a sculptor, and afterwards Art Instructor in Rugby School. He died in* 1879, *having been a very close associate of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and contributing in verse and prose to their magazine, the 'Germ,' in* 1850. *He left behind him a good deal of poetry—reflective, descriptive, and sometimes humorous—as yet unpublished. The volume now announced is a selection from among the best pieces.*

P. A. Barnett, M.A.

Teaching and Organisation.

With Special Reference to Secondary Schools. A Manual of Practice. Edited by P. A. BARNETT, M.A. late Principal of the Isleworth Training College for Schoolmasters, formerly Professor of English in Firth (University) College, Sheffield. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

*** *The object of this Manual is to collect and co-ordinate for the use of students and teachers the experience of persons of authority in special branches of educational practice, and to cover as nearly as possible the whole field of the work of Secondary Schools of both higher and lower grade.*

The following are among the contributors to the volume:—A. T. POLLARD, M.A. Head Master of the City of London School; A. SIDGWICK, M.A. Reader in Greek in the University of Oxford; G. E. BUCKLE, Master of Method, Isleworth Training College; The Rev. M. G. GLAZEBROOK, M.A. Head Master of Clifton College; I. H. MORRIS, Art Master and Head Master of the Gleadless Road School, Sheffield; R. WORMELL, D.Sc. Head Master of the City Foundation Schools; The Rev. E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. formerly Head Master of the City of London School; The Rev. and Hon. E. LYTTELTON, M.A. Head Master of Haileybury; R. SOMERVELL, M.A. of Harrow School; F. STORR, B.A. of Merchant Taylors' School.

Professor W. Lutoslawski.

The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic.

By W. LUTOSLAWSKI, Professor in the University of Kazan. 8vo. [*In the press.*

G. V. Poore, M.D.

The Dwelling House in Country and Suburban Places.

By GEORGE VIVIAN POORE, M.D. Author of 'Essays on Rural Hygiene.' With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

W. H. Hudson, C.M.Z.S.

Birds in London.

By W. H. HUDSON, C.M.Z.S. Author of 'British Birds' &c. With numerous Illustrations from Drawings and Photographs. [*In the press.*

John Morris and F. Wilkinson.

The Elements of Cotton Spinning.

By JOHN MORRIS and F. WILKINSON. With a Preface by Sir B. A. DOBSON, C.E. M.I.C.E. [*In the press.*

NEW BOOK BY THE AUTHOR OF 'THE ADVENTURES OF TWO DUTCH DOLLS AND A GOLLIWOGG.'

The Vegemen's Revenge.

Words by BERTHA UPTON. With Coloured Plates, &c. by FLORENCE K. UPTON. Oblong 4to. 6*s.* [*In October.*

James Sully, M.A. LL.D.

Children's Ways: being Selections from

the Author's 'Studies of Childhood,' with new matter. By JAMES SULLY, M.A. LL.D. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

Edith H. Fowler.

The Professor's Children: a Story.

By EDITH H. FOWLER, Author of 'The Young Pretenders.' With 24 Illustrations by ETHEL KATE BURGESS. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*Ready.*

A. H. Gilkes, M.A.

Kallistratus: an Autobiography. A

Story of the Time of the Second Punic War. By A. H. GILKES, M.A. Master of Dulwich College. With 4 Illustrations by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*Ready.*

Francis Allingham.

Crooked Paths: a Novel.

By FRANCIS ALLINGHAM. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*Ready.*

NEW BOOK BY A. E. T. WATSON.

A Volume of Sporting Stories and Sketches, by Alfred E. T. Watson, Editor of the 'Badminton Magazine,' is in the press, and will be issued shortly. The volume will contain numerous Illustrations.

J. F. Sullivan.

Here They Are!

More Stories. Written and Illustrated by JAS. F. SULLIVAN, Author of 'The Flame Flower' &c. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*In the press.*

S. Rosamond Praeger.

The Adventure of Three Bold Babes:

Hector, Honoria, and Alisander. A Story in Pictures. By S. ROSAMOND PRAEGER. With 24 Coloured Plates and 24 Outline Pictures. Oblong 4to. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*In the press.*

Sylvia Margaret Hill.

Rameau's Nephew: a Translation from

Diderot's Autographic Text. By SYLVIA MARGARET HILL. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

'Miss HILL contributes a valuable introduction and some useful notes, and her volume is likely to remain the standard English version of DIDEROT'S famous dialogue.'
GLOBE.

'It is valuable, as being an unabridged translation, and it is provided with notes, that will help those unacquainted with the literary history and the intrigues of the period to understand better the numerous personal and ironical allusions in which this strange bundle of philosophy, satire, and observation abounds.'—TIMES.

'DIDEROT is one of the outstanding precursors of the Revolution, and from a historical and speculative, as well as literary, point of view, this most characteristic work deserves attention.'
ABERDEEN DAILY FREE PRESS.

S. Levett-Yeats.

The Chevalier d'Auriac: a Historical Romance.

By S. LEVETT-YEATS, Author of 'The Honour of Savelli' &c. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* [*Ready.*

Una Taylor.

Early Italian Love-Stories.

Edited and Retold by UNA TAYLOR. With 12 Illustrations by H. J. FORD. [*In the press.*

Lady Camilla Gurdon.

Suffolk Tales and other Stories; Fairy Legends; Poems; Miscellaneous Articles.

By the late LADY CAMILLA GURDON, Author of 'Suffolk Folk-Lore.' [*In the press.*

Nina F. Layard.

Songs in Many Moods.

By NINA F. LAYARD. [*In the press.*

Rev. the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, M.A.

Are we to go on with Latin Verses?

By the Rev. Hon. EDWARD LYTTELTON, M.A. Head Master of Haileybury College. [*In the press.*

Daniel A. Murray, B.A.

An Introductory Course in Differential Equations.

By DANIEL A. MURRAY, B.A. Ph.D. Instructor in Mathematics, Cornell University. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* [*Ready.*

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

NEW BOOK BY DEAN FARRAR.

The Bible: its Meaning and Supremacy.

By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D. F.R.S. Dean of Canterbury. 8vo. 15*s.*

*** *In this book, which has long been in preparation, the author, while supporting the unique grandeur and inestimable value of the Scriptures, points out the dangerous errors which have sprung from their misinterpretation, and from humanly-invented theories as to the nature of their inspiration.*

'The book is full of life and interest throughout. Everywhere we find a remarkable array of learning which testifies to the breadth and variety of the author's reading.'

INDEPENDENT.

'This book cannot fail to assist in promoting the study of the Bible in the new light which is constantly being thrown upon it by the patient research of reverent and scholarly men.'—DAILY CHRONICLE.

'The Dean's book is a strong plea for the Bible. . . . We have to thank him for a thoughtful and powerful series of well-written essays upon the greatest book in the world, through which, for long, men have heard the voice of GOD sounding across the centuries the eternal distinctions of right and wrong.'—CHURCH BELLS.

'The catena of passages he has culled from the divers sources form a very striking testimony to the influence of the Bible. No one who reads Dean FARRAR'S volume can fail to know much regarding the origin and growth of the Bible, the various misconceptions of its nature which have been current, and the claims it has on the esteem of reasonable men.'

BRITISH WEEKLY.

'This book will rank among the most important and influential works of the kind that have issued from the press during recent years. It is at once a powerful vindication of the truths of Scripture, their majesty, and their harmony with the lofty conceptions of human society: but it is, at the same time, an equally powerful blow at dogmas which are no part of the Christian faith, or are in nowise essential to its integrity.'

SCOTSMAN.

TWO NEW BOOKS BY THE LATE CANON LIDDON.

Sermons preached on Special Occasions,

1858–1889. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D. D.C.L. LL.D. late Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's First

Epistle to Timothy. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D. D.C.L. LL.D. late Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Rev. A. G. Mortimer, D.D.

Catholic Faith and Practice: a Manual

of Theological Instruction for Confirmation and First Communion. By the Rev. A. G. MORTIMER, D.D. Rector of St. Mark's, Philadelphia. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE WAY OF PENITENCE. 32mo. sewed, *2d.*; or *8s. 4d.* per 100.

THE WAY OF PROGRESS. 32mo. sewed, *2d.*; or *8s. 4d.* per 100.

NEW BOOK BY THE DEAN OF LICHFIELD.

Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke in the Acts: being Sixty Portions for Private Study, and Instruction in Church. By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D. Dean of Lichfield. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. *12s.*

'It certainly fills a gap, for it gives a continuous exposition of the Acts in a form far more attractive to the ordinary layman than that of a commentary; and many a parish priest may find in it, if he will, ample material for sermons or Bible classes, and even for lectures on the history of the Church in the Apostolic age.'
CHURCH TIMES.

George Henry Somerset Walpole, D.D.

The Great Example.

By GEORGE HENRY SOMERSET WALPOLE, D.D. Principal of Bede College, Durham, lately Professor in the General Theological Seminary, New York. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

Rev. George Tyrrell, S.J.

Nova et Vetera: Informal Meditations

for Times of Spiritual Dryness. By Rev. GEORGE TYRRELL, S.J. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

'We feel sure that this volume will often be found to be a true and serviceable companion.'
CATHOLIC GAZETTE.

'The work is one of which he who reads any will read all. Father TYRRELL is a writer who has thought before he speaks, and who has taken the trouble to master the science of this world before imagining himself able to dispense the mysteries of another.'—WEEKLY REGISTER.

A. Theodore Wirgman, B.D.

The Doctrine of Confirmation.

Considered in Relation to Holy Baptism as a Sacramental Ordinance of the Catholic Church. With a Preliminary Historical Survey of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit. By A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, B.D. D.C.L. late Foundation Scholar of St. Mary Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Vice-Provost of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Rev. B. W. Maturin.

Practical Studies on the Parables of Our Lord.

By Rev. B. W. MATURIN, B.A. formerly Mission Priest of the Society of St. John Evangelist, Cowley, Author of 'Some Principles and Practices of the Spiritual Life' &c. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

'Those who wish to teach themselves, or to teach others, out of that inexhaustible source of heavenly wisdom, the Parables of our Lord, would do well to get this book. In view of recent events, it may be as well to add that there is absolutely nothing of a controversial character in the book.'—SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.

William James, LL.D.

The Will to Believe, and other Essays in Popular Philosophy.

By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D. Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.—The Will to Believe—Is Life Worth Living?—The Sentiment of Rationality—Reflex Action and Theism—The Dilemma of Determinism—The Moral Philosopher and the Moral Life—Great Men and their Environment—The Importance of Individuals—On Some Hegelisms—What Psychical Research has Accomplished—Index.

*** *The volume is calculated to interest primarily philosophic students, but, secondarily, ministers of religion and all those whose minds are occupied with a supposed opposition between science and faith.*

'The book will be read with interest by men well versed in philosophy for the originality and maturity of its views, and by younger men for the vividness with which it suggests independent trains of reflection.'
SCOTSMAN.

'One and all of these essays or lectures are marked by the Professor's ingenuity, fine literary touch, and rare combination of subtlety and humour. . . . A volume fresh, stimulating, impressive, and, in the best sense, educational—a volume which might open up to a young receptive mind a new world of speculation.
TIMES.

NEW WORK BY THE REV. W. H. HUTTON, B.D.

The Church of the Sixth Century: Six

Chapters in Ecclesiastical History. By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. With 11 Illustrations of Churches, &c. in Constantinople. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

'Mr. HUTTON has thrown much instructive light on that aspect of the age of JUSTINIAN which GIBBON contemptuously neglected.'—TIMES.

'There is an informing chapter on Byzantine art, and it is under the glamour of this subject—under the spell of the city's historic stones—that Mr. HUTTON writes. It throws a glow over the whole treatise, warming the dried bones of decayed controversies into something like vivacity, and adding a certain completeness to the treatment of a subject instinct with literary possibilities.'—ACADEMY.

S. Squire Sprigge.

The Life and Times of Thomas

Wakley, Founder and First Editor of the *Lancet*, Member of Parliament for Finsbury, and Coroner for West Middlesex. By S. SQUIRE SPRIGGE, M.B.Cantab. With 2 Portraits. 8vo. 18*s*.

'WAKLEY is the leading figure in the medical history of this century, and this biographical record is a volume of great historical importance, while it furnishes a vivid and living picture of one of the greatest of our medical reformers. The volume is carefully prepared from authentic records, and is written in a sympathetic spirit, and shows great literary capacity.'

BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL.

'A very striking record of strenuous effort and successful accomplishment. . . . The book is tersely and clearly written, and its interest never flags. It puts before us a vivid picture of a typical Englishman—a man of untiring energy, of sterling honesty, and of dauntless courage—who found certain duties lying before him to be done, and who applied himself to them with all his might.'

TIMES.

H. Ellen Browning.

A Girl's Wanderings in Hungary.

By H. ELLEN BROWNING. With Map and 19 Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

'Something quite unlike a guide-book. The whole book is a series of anecdotes and confessions.'

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

'Smart, vivid, and correct, and Miss BROWNING'S views on life show powers of observation unusually acute for one who is apparently still quite young.'—DAILY MAIL.

'A work full of interesting information, and abounding in picturesque and suggestive scenes and incidents.'

GLASGOW HERALD.

COMPLETION OF THE NEW EDITION OF LORD MACAULAY'S LIFE AND WORKS.

The Life and Works of Lord Macaulay.

'Edinburgh' Edition. 10 vols 8vo. 6*s* each. (Works, 8 vols.; Life, 2 vols.)

VOLS. I.–IV. HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOLS. V.–VII. ESSAYS; BIOGRAPHIES; INDIAN PENAL CODE; CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNIGHT'S 'QUARTERLY MAGAZINE.'

VOL. VIII. SPEECHES; LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME: MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

VOLS. IX. & X. THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF LORD MACAULAY. By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, Bart.

A Description of the Wordsworth and Coleridge Manuscripts

in the possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman. Edited, with Notes, by W. HALE WHITE. With 3 Facsimile Reproductions: 'The Brothers,' and Letter from W. Wordsworth to Humphry Davy—Coleridge's 'Love'—'The Ode to Immortality.' 4to. 10*s* 6*d*.

'Mr. LONGMAN'S manuscripts have been admirably edited.'—TIMES.

'A handsome and indispensable addition to the library of every lover of WORDSWORTH.'—ATHLNÆUM

'We can but thank Messrs. LONGMAN for giving us the book, which we commend to the attention of all students of the two great poets.'
NOTES AND QULRIES.

'Mr. LONGMAN and Mr. HALE WHITE have made in this beautiful volume a welcome gift to students of WORDSWORTH and COLERIDGE.'
SATURDAY RLVIEW.

'Wordsworthians and scholarly critics of English poetry will welcome the appearance of this book. It is full of curious matter for a student of various readings'
SCOTSMAN

The Annual Register: a Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1896.

8vo. 18*s*.

*** Volumes of the ANNUAL REGISTER for the years 1863–1895 can still be had, price 18*s*. each.

'As a record of the political history of the previous twelvemonth the *Register* remains without a rival among English year-books.'
GUARDIAN.

Professor F. Max Müller, K.M.

Contributions to the Science of Mythology.

By the Right Hon. Professor F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. Member of the French Institute. 2 vols. 8vo. 32*s.*

We are grateful for the graceful scholarship, the massive learning, and valuable phonetics of these two volumes.'—GUARDIAN.

'The book has all that massive erudition and that facility in handling it for effective exposition that characterised Professor MAX MÜLLER'S earliest work and rendered it so popular.'—GLASGOW HERALD.

'This book will nobly help forward the work of progress in relation to the clearer elucidation of the origin and evolution of human myth, cults, superstitions, and highly spiritualised and beautifully humanised religions.' LEEDS MERCURY.

'There can be no two opinions about the value of the book itself as a permanent contribution to science. The work has many claims to be regarded as the keystone and completion of the arch which its author, by the honoured labour of a long life, has thrown across the gulf of ignorance and prejudice that lies between man's desire and a knowledge of the truth.'—SCOTSMAN.

George John Romanes, M.A.

Essays.

By GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A. LL.D. F.R.S. Edited by C. LLOYD MORGAN, Principal of University College, Bristol. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

CONTENTS.—Primitive Natural History—The Darwinian Theory of Instinct—Man and Brute—Mind in Men and Animals—Origin of Human Faculty—Mental Differences between Men and Women—What is the Object of Life?—Recreation—Hypnotism—Hydrophobia and the Muzzling Order.

Mrs. John Hays Hammond.

A Woman's Part in a Revolution.

By Mrs. JOHN HAYS HAMMOND. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

'No reader can fail to be touched and amused by the alternate pathos and humour of its narrative. The lady writes with naïve vigour and simplicity, with charming directness, and an abundance of amusing criticism.'—GLOBE.

'Since Mrs. GRIMWOOD'S story of the dreadful Manipur business, no such poignantly dramatic "human document" has been published as Mrs. HAYS HAMMOND'S narrative of the abortive Johannesburg revolution, and the part she and her husband played in it.'—ACADEMY.

CABINET EDITION OF BISHOP CREIGHTON'S 'PAPACY.'

A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome (1378–1527). By M. CREIGHTON, D.D. Oxon. and Camb. Lord Bishop of London. New and Cheaper Edition. Six Volumes. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* each.

'Those who heard little of Dr. CREIGHTON'S merits as an historian till he became a Bishop will be well advised to read this work; while those who knew it already may value it the more for the rise of its author in the ecclesiastical world.'
ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

'All who are interested in history carefully and attractively compiled, will give a hearty welcome to this new edition of a great and important work. . . . Few histories are more fascinating and few contain a smaller number of dull pages.'
DUNDEE COURIER.

John Beattie Crozier.

History of Intellectual Development on the Lines of Modern Evolution. Vol. I. Greek and Hindoo Thought; Græco-Roman Paganism; Judaism; and Christianity down to the Closing of the Schools of Athens by Justinian, 529 A.D. By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER, Author of 'Civilisation and Progress.' 8vo. 14*s.*

'Promises, when complete, to be the most important work of the kind issued since COMTE'S "Positive Philosophy."'—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

'Mr. CROZIER'S thoughtful and interesting volume . . . He strikes us as a man of great gifts.'
DAILY CHRONICLE.

'It is not easy to do justice to a work which testifies to wide reading, a genuine desire to see truth, and an unmistakable power of expression.'—TIMES.

'Dr. CROZIER attacks several of the difficult problems here under discussion with considerable grasp and clearness, and often even with a large measure of success.'
ACADEMY.

'England probably possesses at this moment no more disinterested student of social philosophy than Dr. CROZIER.'—NATIONAL OBSERVER AND BRITISH REVIEW.

'I call it at once and emphatically a great—I might even say a very great book. . . . This fact remains incontestible—that it has come from a mind more richly stored with information of the profound, more penetrating and original, than almost any of our time; and that the style, with all its almost sombre simplicity, is that which could be only attained by a man with a very high and distinguished literary gift.'—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P. in the WEEKLY SUN.

Edward Eggleston.

The Beginners of a Nation: a History

of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America, with Special Reference to the Life and Character of the People. By EDWARD EGGLESTON. With 8 Maps. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

'A favourable example of a kind of literature in which America is rich, and of which it may be proud. It has been, one can see, a labour of love.'—TIMES.

'This is, in many ways, a remarkable book. . . . Mr. EGGLESTON has devoted to this work many years of patient investigation, and has compressed into some three hundred pages of large type the learning of a library. The result could not fail to be interesting. . . . It is an eminently clear and instructive presentment of the great political and religious upheaval in the beginning of the seventeenth century; and an elucidation of the many other subtle forces at work which went almost at haphazard to the peopling of a continent with men of English race.'

DAILY CHRONICLE.

B. F. C. Costelloe and J. H. Muirhead.

Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics;

being a Translation from Zeller's 'Philosophy of the Greeks.' By B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A. and J. H. MUIRHEAD, M.A. both of the University of Glasgow and Balliol College, Oxford. 2 vols. crown 8vo. *24s.*

'All serious students of Greek philosophy will welcome this translation of a work which belongs to the first rank of Aristotelian literature.'—TIMES.

'The orderly and lucid character of the exposition is wonderful, if one considers how voluminous and how difficult Aristotle is. The translation, so far as we have compared it with the original, is well done. It reads as freely as the severe style of the author admits.'

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

'Dr. EDUARD ZELLER'S work on the "Philosophy of the Greeks" in its historical development is, beyond doubt, the most complete, clear, and accurate exposition of Aristotelian doctrine in existence.'—SPEAKER.

NEW BOOK BY MR. J. K. JEROME.

Sketches in Lavender: Blue and Green.

A Collection of Short Stories. By JEROME K. JEROME. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

'Mr. JEROME'S dialogue is vivacious and probable. . . . He expresses with ease and appropriateness all the funny things that the average cockney conceives. . . . He knows by heart the proverbial philosophy of a class and a generation.'—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

'Altogether a very good book wherewith to beguile the time on a railway journey, and thoroughly unæsthetic, which is not its least recommendation. Since "Stageland" Mr. JEROME has given us nothing better than these stories.'

WORLD.

'All are good from the point of view of the man who seeks entertainment, and, as all deal more or less directly with humanity of types familiar in every-day experience, it is not too much to allow them an interest surpassing that of a mere analysis of character and motion.'

LITERARY WORLD.

'The author has collected material of a sort to gratify all his audiences. Rollicking fun and subtle character-drawing mingle in the "Sketches," and it is hard to believe the same pen could tell these stories, for they cover a wide field of wit, humour, and pathos; sharing but one quality in common—a high note of literary workmanship. Indeed, Mr. JEROME has never written so well.'

BLACK AND WHITE.

The late Henry Carvill Lewis, M.A.

Papers and Notes on the Genesis and Matrix of the Diamond.

By the late HENRY CARVILL LEWIS, M.A. F.G.S. Professor of Mineralogy in the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, Professor of Geology in Haverford College, U.S.A. Edited from his unpublished MSS. by Professor T. G. BONNEY, D.Sc. LL.D. F.R.S. &c. With 2 Plates and 35 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

HARVARD HISTORICAL STUDIES.

Nominations for Elective Office in the United States.

By FREDERICK W. DALLINGER, A.M. Member of the Massachusetts Senate; Formerly Secretary of the Republican City Committee of Cambridge, Mass. &c. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

'This book will interest the English reader, to whom the inner workings of American politics are, as a rule, a thing of mystery and of awe. writes as one who knows the ropes. . . . His treatise is certainly of great value for a proper understanding of domestic politics in the United States.'

PALL MALL GAZETTE.

NEW VOLUMES OF THE SILVER LIBRARY.

The Memoirs of Baron de Marbot.

Translated from the French by ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER. With Portrait. New Edition. 2 vols. crown 8vo. *7s.*

Joan Haste.

By H. RIDER HAGGARD. With 20 Illustrations by F. S. WILSON. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–8.

By Sir JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I. F.R.S. and Colonel MALLESON, C.S.I. New Edition. 6 vols. crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.* each. Vols. I. II. III. (*now ready*). Vols. IV. V. VI. (*in the Autumn*).

S. Levett-Yeats.

A Galahad of the Creeks, and other

Stories. By S. LEVETT-YEATS, Author of 'The Honour of Savelli.' Crown 8vo. *6s.*

'A story of very high merit, which is not more true to local colour than to the realities of human nature.'
SPEAKER.

'A sketch of English life in Burma, written with admirable skill and that swift and penetrating kind of observation which some English writers bring to bear upon life in the tropics.'
WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

NEW BOOK
BY THE AUTHOR OF 'JOHN WARD, PREACHER.'

The Wisdom of Fools.

By MARGARET DELAND. Fcp. 8vo. *5s.*

'Four clever stories extremely clever and analytic studies of life.'—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

'We cannot praise too much the delicacy of workmanship and originality of invention that have gone to the making of these stories.'
GUARDIAN.

'"The Wisdom of Fools" is the general title of four short stories, each of which deals with some problem of life and conduct. The first story held me. . . . There are a dozen reasons why you should read it.'—ACADEMY.

'High as is the artistic value of these stories, their chief interest centres in the moral problems of one kind or another which are here presented, discussed, and left without a solution. . . . Mrs. DELAND'S treatment of such questions is marked by a rare impartiality and absence of dogmatism. She has the gift of displaying her subject from many points of view. She is suggestive without being didactic, and, though the action of her characters may point a moral, the characters themselves never fail to be interesting men and women.'
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

P. Anderson Graham.

The Victorian Era: a History of the Queen's Reign.

By P. ANDERSON GRAHAM, Author of 'Country Pastimes for Boys' &c. Arranged as a Reading Book for Elementary and Secondary Schools. With Notes and Annotations, 75 Illustrations, and 2 Maps in Colour showing the British Empire in 1837 and 1897. Crown 8vo. *1s. 9d.*

Also a SCHOOL PRIZE EDITION in Special Binding, gilt edges, &c. *2s. 6d.*

'A lucid and fully-illustrated survey of the growth of the nation and the expansion of the Empire during the last sixty years.'—SPEAKER.

'Admirably compact and definite, while to each chapter there are a few notes explanatory of words and allusions. It is, in short, a very full and clear exposition of the leading facts of the history of the era that has seen the rise of the steamship, railway, and telegraph, and the great material and moral development of the nation and empire.'

ABERDEEN DAILY FREE PRESS.

THE

SWAN FOUNTAIN PEN



THE EDITOR OF THE 'WINDSOR MAGAZINE'

says

I have written in the course of the last seven years over ONE MILLION words with my beloved SWAN FOUNTAIN PEN In my opinion every journalist toiling in the Hall of a Thousand Columns should halve his worry and double his speed by investing in a SWAN

F. CARRUTHERS GOULD, ESQ.

'The Westminster Gazette,' says

'I find your "SWAN" Pen excellent for Cartoon work The nib does not corrode as ordinary steel nibs do, and it gives a firm, even line without the scratchiness which is so great a difficulty when drawing in pen and ink with a free hand.'

& ALL CLASSES OF PEOPLE

MADE IN 3 SIZES AT **10/6, 16/6, & 25/-** EA.

COMPLETE ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE SENT POST FREE ON APPLICATION TO **MABIE, TODD & BARD**

93 CHEAPSIDE, E.C.; 95a Regent St., W., & 21 High St., Kensington, London and 3 Exchange St., Manchester.

Spottiswoode & Co. Printers, New-street Square, London.

not decreased. Socialism is a bugbear. She distrusts her public men. She has no faith in her representative system. Poverty, too, is more felt than of old. We do not speak of the condition of the dregs of the population in the great towns, which, except in Naples, is perhaps not worse than in other lands, but of the continuous struggle for existence of the tiller of the soil, and the straits to which many middle-class families are reduced.

These are not the mere fancies of a splenetic traveller. The whole tone of social and political literature in Italy is desperately pessimistic. Signor Turiello declares that, with the exception of the press, he does not know of one Italian publication on social or political subjects which can be called cheerful, and it is but a few days since the Chamber listened to the following words from the lips of the Prime Minister:—

'My ear is strained to catch the distant murmur of discontent, and I hear, in the words of the poet,

"Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,
Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira,
Voci alte e fioche e suon di man con elle."

Yes, there is deep and menacing discontent in our land, and this discontent arises solely from the deplorable economical conditions with which the country is struggling and the fiscal exactions from which we cannot yet free our system of finance.'

Grave words, indeed, although they do not reveal all the sources of dissatisfaction. Other causes are disclosed in Signor Turiello's work, the great value of which lies in the wealth of illustrative facts he has collected, and in his honest determination to conceal nothing that he knows. His slightly pedantic style, the absence of any very orderly marshalling of his details, and some peculiar psychological generalisations of his own, not likely to meet with frequent acceptance, have prevented his book receiving so much attention as it deserves.

Signor Villari's brilliant little sketch of the condition of Sicily in the spring of 1895 lacks none of the usual grace of his pen. He visited the island after Signor Crispi's drastic measures had quelled the agrarian disturbances and relegated the Socialist agitators to enforced quietude. His absolute freedom from bitterness or party spirit, and the honest and tender sympathy with his suffering fellow-men, which overflow from every page, make us feel safe under his fascinating escort, although the land question is more exhaustively and, perhaps, more competently treated by

other writers. The general reader will find a short and accurate sketch of Italian institutions, followed by a very judicial estimate of their working defects, in the two chapters of his book which Mr. Lowell has been able to devote to Italy.

Our authors, like the generality of Italian writers on the practical outcome of the political system, are chiefly preoccupied with the state of Southern Italy and the islands, and in this respect we cannot but follow them. Signor Turiello epigrammatically remarks that Italian peculiarities are most easily studied where they are magnified, as in the Neapolitan, who is an Italian to the n^{th} degree. The institutions are the same all over the country; but it is the strain that tests the rope, and the strain on Italian institutions is greatest in the south. The events of 1859 and 1860 gave to the north what it wanted—liberty and freedom from the foreigner. But, as a condition of these boons, the north had to undertake the political tutelage of a country of almost equal extent and population, in a totally different stage of civilisation, but with a people of individual capacity and force of character at least equal to their own; and this without any exceptional powers. The problem was a difficult one. It would have tasked the energies of races of far greater organising and administrative power. The extent, the population, the resources, and the traditions of the south all combine to make its developement and prosperity absolutely essential to the well-being of the nation. Its unification in sentiment and aspirations with the rest of the country is complete, but its maladministration is, next to over-taxation, the heaviest millstone that hangs round the neck of Italy. Moreover we may say, in a modified sense, 'Græcia capta 'ferum victorem cepit.' The blemishes born of the long servitude and low social organisation of the south have eaten their way northward. Let it not be thought that the southerns are without their virtues; but there is less mutual confidence among them, less straightforwardness and plain dealing, less belief in honesty, either as a duty or as a policy.

Education should have done more than it has for this generation. It has not supplied the lacking moral stimulus; it has not given any training in conduct, except in the military schools, where discipline bears its good fruit, and in those managed by the clergy, where, however, it is needless to say that the Jesuitical model does not meet the needs of the age. This deficiency is the more unfortunate in a country where re-

ligious sentiment and teaching have little practical connexion with morality. Be it said, by the way, that both religious sentiment and religious observance are far commoner and deeper in the south than in Tuscany and the north, where militant atheism and passive agnosticism, both usually of a crudely materialistic type, are very widely spread. But worship is almost confined to attendance at Mass, a ceremony regarded with mystical reverence and awe bred of habit, with little understanding of its meaning and none of the beautiful words pattered in an unknown tongue. Such religious teaching as there is has no reference to conduct. Sermons consist mainly of panegyrics of the saints—useful rhetorical exercises for the young clergy, but with no bearing on life. Reverence for the Church, attendance at Mass, some not very onerous Lenten observances, and, in the case of women, confession and some form of devotion to a favourite saint, such as keeping an oil lamp perpetually burning, are the essence of religion as taught to the people. Yet even this is morally preferable to the teaching of the public schools, for it does comprise the performance of certain duties, to which no present material reward is attached, even if it be only in the form of a few trite observances. The teaching of the schools may be summed up in the formula, 'Thou mayst 'know,' to the absolute exclusion of 'Thou shalt do.' What can be looked for from the young lad who goes forth to meet a rough world so ill prepared? He soon finds that life means that the power to know is conditional on his own energy, his own leisure, whilst the command to do is imposed on him from without by many a hard exigency. He may think himself lucky if the needs of the body are his only tyrants. The command too often comes to him from some stronger will on which he is dependent, from some Delilah, or from some secret association in which he becomes entangled through his youthful vanity; and then too often the words are, 'Thou 'shalt lie,' 'Thou shalt steal,' 'Thou shalt slay.' He is too apt then to remember thus much of his school learning—to wit, that 'the criminal code of Italy is the mildest in 'Europe.'

The long centuries during which government in southern Italy was at once weak and oppressive, relying on soldiers of fortune for its defence, at times even calling in the bandit and the criminal to its aid, completely eradicated all respect for law, all sense that the functionaries of the State are the individual's natural protectors. And so within the rotting framework of society began to form the bud of a

different system, a sort of embryo feudalism, which might have blossomed into some new and possibly nobler form of social organism had it been isolated from external influences. Men came to look to each other for that support which the State did not afford them, to take refuge under the protection of stronger individuals, and to extend shelter to others weaker than themselves. But the forms of the modern State, however decrepit, are absolutely hostile to any healthy developement of such a tendency, and this relation of superior and dependent, patron and client—call it what you will—naturally took an evil bend, and shaped itself in the secret societies which honeycombed Italy during two-thirds of the present century. The fraudulent and the violent pay no heed to a law which is not strong enough to crush them. They distort its provisions to their own ends, and they meet its sanctions with sanctions more terrible. In the lower classes this tendency is at the root of those strange predatory organisations which have to answer for so much of the crime of Italy—the Camorra of Naples, the Mala Vita of Bari, the Mafia of Sicily. In other ranks of life the same phenomenon shows itself in the *clientèle*—those cliques, connexions, and rings which are interwoven with every branch of local and national politics.

Italians, and especially the southern, are commonly apt to assume—most unjustly to themselves and their countrymen—that into every transaction and relation of life, outside the family, there must perforce enter more or less of favouritism, injustice, oppression, deception, or treachery. The natural outcome of so pessimistic a view of life is a determination not to be worsted in the struggle, come what may to others: 'Thou shalt want ere I want.' Self-assertion, 'farsi 'valere' in Italian phrase, is the object of the members of the *clientèle*, between whom there need be no formal tie, and who do not deliberately and avowedly set themselves to misuse public authority for their own benefit. Yet it is easy to see how they end by debasing the whole political life of the country. They are the outward expression of that profound moral scepticism and want of faith in their fellow-men of real flesh and blood which in the middle classes of Italy form so strange a contrast to the belief in the excellence of human nature preached by her doctrinaire school.

In this connexion we must allude to the masonic societies, which are another disturbing element in Italian institutions. They are, of course, the special bugbear of devout Catholics, but the uninitiated at large look on the masons

with great suspicion. Some ordinary mortals speak of them as if they had organised a sort of reign of terror in the land. And, indeed, there can be no question that in Italy freemasonry has been diverted from its proper ends. It is a mutual benefit society, but in this sense: that the members help each other at the expense of the rest of the world. We hear strange stories of candidates for the civil service and other appointments being warned that it is useless to present themselves for examination unless they are masons, because, forsooth, his Excellency will hear of none other being appointed. Convictions can hardly be obtained against masons. Threats, persuasion, and vengeance are freely employed towards jurymen; yet we fancy that the more violent crimes of this sort are unjustly charged to the masonic lodges as such. We know of no evidence that they actually exercise power of life and death. There are masons who have withdrawn from their sect, on account of dishonest practices required of them by their superiors, in a fashion that would surely have been visited with signal vengeance, did the fraternity really wield those terrible penalties which belong to secret societies of a more drastic kind.

Let us trace some of the effects of such an atmosphere as we have described on public life in Italy; on local government, on the civil service, on the representative system, and on public men. Italian local institutions are in the main a copy of the French. Introduced into Upper Italy in the Napoleonic era, the model was not unnaturally extended to the whole country on its union, without any very searching discussion or criticism.

The communes, which are the real unit of local government, have a very large measure of autonomy, and their working is most remarkable. There are over 8,000 of them, varying in size from Naples, with its population of 535,000, to hill communes of 100 or even fewer inhabitants. Yet the organisation of all alike is distinctly urban. Every commune has an elected council, a junta, and a syndic. The council is the local deliberative body, the junta an administrative board. It is composed of the syndic, with from two to ten assessors, chosen by the councillors from their own number. The syndic is the chief officer of the commune, and he is at the same time a government official. Until two years ago, in communes of less than 10,000 souls, he was nominated by the Crown. Now, in all communes alike, he is chosen by secret ballot within the council itself, and holds office for three years, when he is re-eligible if still a

councillor. Among the many and complicated powers and duties of these local bodies is that of managing the communal property, where there is any, and of making up the deficiency of revenue from it by taxation. They also have certain limited borrowing powers, which have been much abused. The complicated restrictions imposed on them have not been stringent enough to prevent the communes from running into excessive debt, but yet have so much impaired the security they can offer that they have usually had to borrow at exorbitant rates of interest. Councils may be dissolved by royal decree for grave reasons of public order, and their functions entrusted to an extraordinary commissioner, but a new council must be elected within six months.

In Upper Italy, where the tradition of the local liberties of the past survived, the system adopted has had a fair measure of success. But that tradition was lacking in the south, where so great a degree of communal autonomy was never desired, and education was, and still is, far more backward. In this part of the kingdom there is endless evidence that these institutions have led to innumerable abuses. The canker of peculation and jobbery eats into the healthy growth of the organism, and the worst feature is that in many cases the poorer and weaker members of the community bear the burden of the malpractices of the middle class—the *cappeddi*, or 'hat-wearers,' as they are called in Sicily. Symptoms of the disease in the larger towns are jobbery in the concession of contracts, the abuse and often the irregular exercise of borrowing powers, and the most lavish extravagance on theatres and fêtes. In rural districts we hear more of oppression of the poor in regard to local taxation, the administration or division of the communal lands, and diversion of charitable funds. In all alike the law is a dead letter as far as the ring in power is concerned, while it is rigidly and sometimes tyrannically carried out against their opponents. There is the greatest remissness and inactivity in the use of powers and enforcement of regulations for the public good alone, and whenever there is no question of personal advantage, of helping a friend, or of harming an enemy. Want of public spirit, want of the power of taking trouble, want of perseverance in encountering difficulties, opposition, and unpopularity, a desire to stand well with all men, an even greater anxiety to avoid giving offence to the powerful or the dangerous—these are the characteristics that turn the faintly well-intentioned individuals who compose the majority of the directing classes

in the communes into mere tools in the hands of the men who dominate the local *clientèle.*

Signor Turiello constantly reiterates these charges against the communal administrations. The newspapers are full of allusions to such abuses. They are matters of common knowledge. Signor Villari writes:—

'There is no need of evidence, for the evil forces itself on everyone's notice. . . . Was it really needful for Palermo to squander thirteen or fourteen millions on the Teatro Massimo, when there already was the Politeama, and the prefect was away at Rome begging for the insufficiently endowed hospital? At Caltanisetta, too, was it necessary to spend a million for a prefect's residence that would be too large for Florence? In another town they said they had only just increased the toll on flour by 30,000 lire, and were devoting two-thirds of the sum to completing their theatre.'

One of Signor Villari's interlocutors related to him the following tale:—

'In the little commune where I was born the party in power does not pay the *dazio di consumo.* Some days ago an individual refused to pay at the gate, because he was a friend of the financial assessor. Not being known to the officers, they had him escorted to the town house, where he was recognised and *did not pay.* The party in opposition do not protest, because when they come into power they do the same. But verily the poor always pay. My family takes no part in local politics, does not aspire to office, is a favourite with all, and so we never pay. Well, what would you have me do when I reach the gate, and they say to me, "Pass on, sir, pass on; you are known"? Am I to force them to let me pay?'

Some officers to whom Signor Villari recounted this conversation told him that more than once, and not in Sicily alone, they had had to insist repeatedly before they could succeed in paying. 'You, Major, are entitled not to pay.' 'You, sir, are in command here, and must not pay.'

It may be remarked on these stories that they are not quite so bad as they seem, for the *dazio* being farmed by a contractor, if individuals are exempted through favouritism, it is his own pocket and not the communal purse that is the loser. Yet the unfairness is the same. It is the rankling sense of injustice that makes farmers of the *dazio,* their officers, and communal tax-collectors the objects of the bitter resentment of the poorer classes, a feeling in which the syndic and his assessors are too often included. In the words of another of Signor Villari's Sicilian friends—a country joiner of Partinico—'this people long for justice, 'but never can get it.'

The province of Basilicata has been the scene of some of the wildest excesses of local maladministration. It was there that one syndic did not summon his council for three years, but drew upon his own imagination for the minutes which he regularly forwarded to the *sottoprefetto*. In another town, in the year 1876, no less than forty-two persons who had been municipal councillors and managers of the foundling hospital were arrested for having gradually appropriated to their own use the sum of 20,000 lire, by means of charging for foundlings long since dead.

Nor are such irregularities peculiar to the little hole-and-corner communes. Several of the larger cities have had their councils dissolved more than once. At Salerno, in 1874, it came out that a municipal assessor was filching away a large proportion of the communal payments for foundlings. In November last there was an inquiry into the municipal affairs of Palermo, which revealed a deficit of no less than 615,000 lire, for which the cashier was unable to account. The Commissioners reported that for years he had been allowed to delay rendering full accounts, whilst the monthly verification of his balance had been omitted—or rather it had been periodically reported to the financial department as having taken place, but the money had never been actually counted.

The great charitable endowments of the city of Naples have long offered a deplorable spectacle of mismanagement, despite the optimistic terms in which the municipal authorities have often spoken of them. Much has been written, in many languages, about these *Opere Pie*, as they are called. They were 349 in number, with an annual revenue of 7,154,859 lire, when Madame Mario wrote her well-known 'Miseria in Napoli.' Yet a Royal Commissioner, appointed to investigate them, reported towards the end of 1891 that, though few towns are so well furnished with charitable institutions as Naples, there are few where they so utterly fail to accomplish their mission. They would be sufficient to succour nearly all who are in real need, were it not for the enormous waste in excessive salaries paid to incompetent servants, for bad management of their property, remissness in collecting rents from favoured tenants, and extreme indulgence to debtors. But a far graver indictment is the report of the commission which has recently inquired into the state of the famous 'Annunziata,' the foundling hospital of Naples. No people, no age has known so monstrous a hell of cruel neglect as it reveals. The details are re-

volting. We quote one set of figures alone. During 1895 the hospital received 1,879 infants. Compared with these poor creatures Œdipus himself was a spoilt child of fortune. After deducting the number identified and returned to their parents, and those put out to nurse, there remained a total of 856 to be brought up within the walls of the institution. Of these no less than 696 died within the year, and 157 more during 1896, so that the number remaining alive on December 31, 1896, was exactly THREE! Of these three only ONE now survives!

Provision has indeed been made for checking municipal abuses. The communal administrations are under the surveillance of the prefect, to whom a copy of the minutes of the proceedings of the council and junta has to be transmitted within eight days. This supervision was very effectively exercised during the first fifteen years of the kingdom's existence. The prefect's difficulties were of course greatest and his activity most beneficial in the old kingdom of Naples, where a strong hand was constantly required to cope with the semi-political brigandage of those days and its secret maintainers, known as *manutengoli*, with the machinations of the reactionary party, who were often in sympathy with the brigands, and with the obstinate reluctance of the communes to make those roads the construction of which the law made obligatory on them. But after 1870, when the unity of the kingdom was finally assured, and brigandage had been reduced to insignificant dimensions; still more in the years which followed the fall of the ministry of the Right in 1876, prefects became lest active in controlling local abuses, more absorbed in the electioneering functions imposed on them by the central Government, shifted from post to post at constantly diminishing intervals, and more dependent on the goodwill of local deputies, whose own position requires the favour of the cliques. So their voices have been less frequently uplifted in the provincial council, and they have gradually assumed a more passive attitude towards abuses.

Sundry powers of the commune are subject to the approval of the provincial administrative junta, and one of the most valuable functions of the provincial deputation should be its guardianship of the local charities. But on this subject we must again hear Signor Turiello:—

'One of the respects in which the inefficiency of the Italian provincial deputations is most universally recognised is the guardianship of the *Opere Pie*. When I attended the first Italian Congress on

public charities, held at Naples in 1879, I could see that in the Neapolitan provinces confidence in that guardianship was completely lacking.'

We have more than once heard their office discussed by members of provincial deputations, and of local *congregazioni di carità*. They all alike complain that the management and surveillance of charities is the most irksome of all their duties. They are well aware, as honest and public-spirited men, that they fall short of the ideal of their office, but they dwell on the lukewarmness of their colleagues, on the little support they receive from the public opinion of their own class, and, above all, on the rancorous personal enmities they would incur if they really exerted their whole energy in compelling others to do their duty. Yet quite lately the provincial junta of Naples has proved its mettle by instituting the inquiry into the Annunziata hospital, to which we have referred, and demanding the dismissal of its board of managers.

Enough has been said of local institutions. Does the canker eat into the civil service? Are the deputies themselves beyond the reach of corruption and jobbery? Any one who listens to the general tone of conversation on these matters will come away with the impression that things are fully as bad as in the communal administration. But positive evidence is neither so plentiful nor so definite. As in most Continental countries Government employés do not regard themselves as servants of the public, whom they are apt to treat rather superciliously. But, unlike the same class in France or Germany, their official discipline is very lax. They are irregular in the observance of office hours, although constantly complaining of their length, and dilatory in their work, of which they get through very little. There seem to be too many of them for the work they have to do, and this is partly cause, partly effect of their inefficiency. As far south as Rome there is little to criticise in their outward courtesy. But beyond the capital their manners are bad. Smoking over their work is universally allowed, and they will hardly deign to look up from their cigar, or the private concerns with which they are whiling away their time, to attend to a stranger or a fellow-townsman of low degree. They are at once full of zeal and effusive offers of their assistance on the entrance of a friend or a local notability. The fact is they are underpaid, and, as a rule, discontented with their calling in

life. Italy still waits for her Stein to introduce discipline and efficiency into her public offices.

In all respects they compare most unfavourably with the army. The tone and behaviour of the soldier of every degree in Italy is superior to that of any other class in the country. There is an admirable feeling between private and officer. The mill of discipline and the instruction given in the army schools do wonders for the intelligence, general handiness, self-reliance and self-respect of the peasants who pass through them. To the general cry of lamentation which Signor Villari heard all over Sicily, ministers, deputies, prefects, syndics, communal and provincial councils, Senate and Chamber being overwhelmed in the same flood of abuse, he notes one striking exception. In spite of popular risings having been suppressed by the troops, in spite of the ringleaders having been tried by military courts and sentenced to heavy penalties, no one had a word to say against the army. It had always done its duty without partisanship or favouritism. 'If you want to 'see us all happy, dissolve the municipality and send a 'soldier as commissioner; then you will not hear another 'complaint.' Such are the terms in which the discontented inhabitants of more than one town addressed General Mirri. And Signor Villari, himself the gentlest, most peace-loving, least military of men, adds his own testimony in these words: 'In the midst of the general moral 'disorder that is invading our country the army holds 'its own as the impregnable citadel of national duty and 'honour.'

From so low an estimate of the Italian civil service must be excepted the department of Posts and Telegraphs. This is the best organised service in Italy. It works as well as anywhere else in Europe. It is otherwise with the fiscal officers. Not only are the taxes excessive, but the very stringent powers given by law for their exaction are inquisitorially and oppressively exercised. Do the officials use their powers to feather their own nest as well as to harass the tax-payer? Popular belief on this subject differs somewhat in the north and in the south. In the north the various agents for assessment and collection are thought to be hard, exacting, aye, overreaching, but not usually corrupt. In the south it is commonly supposed that every man who does not make his peace with them will have more than his due extracted from him, and that all who can—that is to say, the rich and influential—generally make very good

terms for themselves. No doubt there is some exaggeration in this popular opinion, and even in the south many officials do their duty very fairly well by the exchequer, if not by the public; that is to say, on the average they impose and collect the full dues, although they occasionally exceed in harshness and fiscality towards the ignorant and the weak, whilst drawing the tooth by the gentlest and most flattering methods from those whose favour they desire or whose gifts they accept. Of even-handed justice they are certainly quite guiltless.

That there has been peculation among the staff of several of the ministries is notorious. Last November the newspapers reported that an inquiry into the expenses of the Ministry of Agriculture had revealed numerous irregularities. For instance, 100,000 lire had been spent in ten years for carpets alone, and the mere correction of the proofs of Signor Zanardelli's revision of the commercial code had cost half a million!

The diversion of moneys voted or subscribed to relieve sufferers from earthquakes has been the cause of various scandals. Fifty thousand lire voted by the province of Naples in 1884, after the disaster at Casamicciola, in the island of Ischia, were squandered on fêtes at Pompeii, but no one was called to account. In March 1896 a commission was appointed to inquire into the application of the large sums—over a million and a half of lire *—collected for the relief of sufferers from the earthquake that had devastated the provinces of Reggio and Catanzaro, in Calabria, and part of that of Messina, in Sicily, in November 1894. Their report, issued in December last, is a very grave document. The distribution of these moneys was, unfortunately, most active at a moment when the general election of 1895 was imminent. The general management of the relief was entrusted to the then Under-Secretary for the Interior, Signor Galli. Large sums were paid to the prefects of the three provinces, and by them divided among subordinate officials, syndics, and others for ultimate distribution. But no proper system of account was ever enforced, or even prescribed. When the commission attempted to trace the moneys in detail it was defeated by the confusion in which the papers at the Ministry of the Interior were found. Some had been lost, some removed and could not be produced. Each prefect rendered to the commission a brief statement

* 140,000 lire were given by the King himself.

of the sums he had received and the persons to whom he had paid them over. After they left the hands of the prefects no account whatever could be obtained of them, except when they had been administered by the military officers in charge of the different relief works. We cannot wade through all this mire. Suffice it to say that one syndic admitted having divided the whole sum entrusted to him among the notabilities of the commune, himself included. Much was used for electioneering. The prefect of Messina, Senator Saladini, was unable to account for 37,788 lire of the moneys that had passed through his hands. He has refunded this sum, and it may be added that he has been placed 'en disponibilité.'

But the most sensational revelation of all was that on May 24, 1895, a telegraphic order for 8,000 lire on the earthquake account with the Bank of Italy was sent to the prefect of Reggio from the Ministry of the Interior, then held by the Premier, Signor Crispi. These 8,000 lire were excluded by the prefect from the first account he rendered to the commission, because he had at the same time received a private autograph letter from Signor Crispi himself, desiring him to hand over this sum to a person who would present himself with a card of identification. The mysterious individual duly appeared, presented the card, and received the sum. His identity has never been revealed. It requires neither a Machiavelli nor a Mephistopheles to divine that the sums charitably subscribed were being tapped for secret service purposes—probably to influence elections in Sicily. No one dreams that Signor Crispi pocketed the money himself. In spite of pressure from Signor Cavallotti and the Radicals to pursue the investigation further, the subject was shelved by the Marquis di Rudini declaring in the Chamber that, although he had felt bound to lay the report on the table, he did not intend to take action upon it, as such a course on his part might be thought to argue rancour against members of the late Government whose characters were involved. And there the matter rests.

It was, however, during the ministry of Signor Giolitti in 1892–93 that corruption in the upper political and administrative ranks reached high-water mark. Since then there has been gradual improvement. The fall of that ministry was brought about by the report of a committee of inquiry into the scandals connected with the fraudulent mismanagement of the Banca Romana. The exact truth has never been fully revealed. Signor Giolitti, whilst still in office,

had seized some of the most compromising papers at the office of the governor of the bank, and put them out of sight. A year later he created a fresh scandal by producing some of these documents in support of a charge against his successor, Signor Crispi, of having himself unduly received moneys from the bank. Nor has the full truth as to this accusation ever been made public, with the consequence that by Signor Crispi's detractors it is believed to be true in the worst sense, whilst his admirers declare it to be a baseless calumny.

The peculiarity about these Italian bank scandals is that, on the whole, it was not the financiers who corrupted the politicians, but the reverse. The management of the banks of issue had long been irregular; their note issues exceeded the limit allowed by law. Large sums locked up, not always in accordance with their charters, in building speculations in Rome and elsewhere rendered their position very shaky. The politicians, partly from fear that a full disclosure of the position might cause such a panic as would be disastrous to the national credit, already compromised by excessive expenditure, partly from less honourable motives, condoned and helped to hush up these irregularities, thereby obtaining a most unfortunate leverage on the management of the banks. But in this respect too the bottom seems to have been touched. The banks have been recalled to the strict observance of their charters, and are being purified from their least reputable elements. It has never been so much as whispered that any of the present ministers have illicit relations with them. On May 12 this year Signor Luzzatti, who is no inflationist, was able to assure the Chamber that at the last inspection the amount of the metallic reserves was found to be in perfect conformity with the law. The note circulation is now well within the legal limits.

Before discussing the qualities of the national representatives themselves let us cast a glance at the manner of their election. Strangely enough, the fundamental law of the Italian constitution is still that charter, called the 'Statuto,' which was granted to his people by Charles Albert of Savoy on March 4, 1848. The second article declares that 'the 'State is ruled by a monarchical representative Govern-'ment;' the third, that 'the legislative power shall be 'jointly exercised by the King and two Chambers—the 'Senate and that of the Deputies.' In practice the Senate has little power. The elective Chamber of Deputies consists of 508 members. The franchise was formerly very narrow, but in

1882 was extended to all citizens of full age who can read and write, and have passed an examination in the subjects comprised in the course of compulsory elementary education. This last condition is not a very severe one, as school attendance is only compulsory between the ages of six and nine. It is dispensed with if the voter falls within one of certain numerous categories, which practically imply an education at least equal to the compulsory course, or a very small stake in the country, as owner or occupier. At first single-member constituencies were adopted; in 1882 a change was made to larger districts returning two to five deputies apiece; in 1891 the single-member plan was reverted to.

But the practical working of any franchise depends on the manner in which the register of voters is kept. In Italy this is under the charge of the municipal junta, and is revised every year. The aggrieved elector can appeal from the junta to the communal council, and from the council to the provincial electoral committee; but these are the very local authorities that are so deeply stained with partisanship and intrigue, and the prefect who presides over the provincial committee is nowadays little more than a general election agent for the Government. Consequently the registers are gerrymandered in every conceivable fashion. The existence of definite political parties, with an organisation for the defence of their own interests, as in England, would check this. And in Northern Italy, where the socialists and republicans are organised, the registers are in a better condition.

It was in prospect of the general election of 1895 that Signor Crispi's Government effected a great expurgation of the registers, on which many unqualified voters had from time to time been inserted, especially under the auspices of the Giolitti Administration. But the opportunity was taken to strike off, in the interests of the Government or of the local *clientèle*, not only the really unqualified, but political opponents and quiet men who could not be relied on to do the bidding of the wire-pullers. Illiteracy was the disqualification usually alleged. Merchants, advocates, men with University degrees were freely struck off on this pretext, together with others whose qualifications were less obvious. The very offensiveness of the aspersion, and the difficulty of getting themselves reinstated, in the face of technicalities skilfully wielded by hostile officials, prevented many men of this class from even attempting to reassert their rights.

At that same election of 1895 direct bribery by the can-

didates reached an unprecedented figure, though it has probably been equalled, if not surpassed, by the bribery at the election of last March. But this does not lie at the door of either of the ministries in office. It is only, as once in England, a natural result of the slackness of public opinion and the inefficacy of the law on the subject. It was most conspicuous in the southern constituencies, where all the candidates were more or less friendly to the Government in office, because they none of them had any real opinion on national issues, and were only anxious to be on the winning side in the Chamber. Hitherto from 5,000 to 10,000 lire had been considered ample for a candidate's election expenses, and five a fair consideration for the individual elector's vote. In 1895 sums of 50,000 and even of 70,000 lire were spent in a few cases. In one hot contest 20,000 lire went in the week between the indecisive first voting and the second ballot. The syndics of small communes, who had their electors well in hand, would offer the votes of the locality to the highest bidder, pocketing sums of five and ten thousand lire, of which a very small proportion reached the ultimate voters. A *capo-elettore* of one very remote Little Pedlington—a priest to boot—offered the votes of the place to A, who was in favour there, for 7,000 lire. Having been promised this sum, he used it to extort 12,000 from B, and at once used all his efforts to turn over votes to B. But the electors happened to be stubborn, and voted for A after all. Our friend the priest, however, was not to be beaten. He succeeded in destroying the votes! An inquiry was instituted, but led to no result, for reasons which we cannot state without revealing the identity of the place. During the election of last March money again flowed very freely. From 100 to 150 lire were paid for individual votes, when contests were hot, and influential electors who had ratted during the night might be watched, half wheedling, half compelling their flock to turn their coats with them. In England this sort of thing used to mean that only rich men could enter Parliament. Should it continue in Italy for any number of years it will tend to the same result, but it also has the much more sinister meaning that the money spent during the contest—often borrowed for the purpose at high interest—must be recovered with interest from the point of vantage won.

Corruption is, of course, made easier by the political apathy of the great mass of the electors. Abstentions are frequent. More voters poll and more interest is excited by elections of

provincial councillors, which are the great battlefield of local politics, than by those for the Chamber, although no questions of national interest—indeed, none of vital local importance—are at issue between these modern Guelphs and Ghibellines. What happens is the exact contrary of what takes place in England. Local politics are not subordinated to national but personal jealousies, and the rivalries of cliques dominate both. Many qualified persons have never come on the Parliamentary register at all. The number who, of their own motion, claimed to be inserted after the extension of the franchise was ridiculously small. In the city of Naples they were only 61! This is partly accounted for by thoroughgoing political scepticism, men of all classes, in no sense of the word reactionaries, holding the Chamber and its members to be no better than a public nuisance, and ministers and their offices an inevitable but scarcely tolerable evil. 'Away with them! Let 'us have Humbert for our absolute king, and Crispi for 'his minister!' was the sort of ejaculation frequently heard two or three years ago in the heyday of Signor Crispi's power. Others abstain from a desire to stand well with all men, and a dislike of making enemies; but the instructions of the Vatican to all good Catholics to hold aloof from politics influence most of all. This prohibition, it must be remembered, does not apply to local elections. The greater interest excited by these is in some degree due to this fact. Indeed, there are communes where the line of division between local parties almost follows that between clericals and their adversaries. It is sometimes argued that Italian politics would be redeemed by a change of front on the part of the Vatican. If the clericals went to the poll, it is said, a sound Conservative element would be introduced, which would sweep away the chicanery and intrigues of the existing Parliamentary groups. But the character of the local contests, when the influence of the clergy is exercised, does not bear out this view. It is doubtful whether the supposed advantage would not be counterbalanced by the increased danger of the nation separating, as in France, into two extreme parties of ultramontane clericals and bitter anti-Christian secularists, to the exclusion of more moderate schools of thought.

Election machinery is very unlike what we know in England. The ballot is not really secret. A few days before the polling every elector receives from the syndic of his commune a certificate that his name is on the register.

This he has to produce at the polling room, where he is identified by signing a list, and his signature is witnessed by one of the returning committee present who knows him. This committee, consisting of four scrutineers, chosen by a curious method, and of an *ex-officio* chairman, is so often packed by the Government officials or by the intrigues of the local *clientèle* that its impartiality cannot be relied on. The voter next receives a square piece of blank paper, on which he writes the name of any individual whom he may fancy for a representative, as there is no nomination of candidates. This paper he then folds in two and hands to the chairman, who drops it into a glass urn. Besides the name he may write on his voting paper the candidate's paternity, profession, dignity, title, academic degree, and an indication of the offices he has held. No other writing is admissible. This curious provision facilitates the rejection of many votes, for the elector is fond of laying the titles rather thick upon his favourite, and any little slip he makes in them may invalidate his vote for ambiguity, if it so suits the wire-pullers. But it has another and a quainter result. It amounts in some places to a cypher between the elector and the agents of the candidate to whom he has promised his vote, and who have their creatures among the scrutineers. For the string of adjuncts may be written in any order, and may precede or follow the name, which itself may be written with the surname first or last. We leave it to the reader to calculate whether the permutations that can be formed may not be as numerous as the number of shaky voters, who can thus reveal the fidelity with which they have carried out their instructions. Another way in which the voter often proves that he has kept his word is by bringing out with him a strip of blotting paper, with which he has blotted the name he wrote. Whole bundles of votes are often made away with when they are unfavourable to the interest that is dominant in the polling room. In the south it has not been very unusual for the syndic, or the notables of a commune, to fill up the voting papers as they choose, the electors staying quietly at home. The same frauds have been practised, though perhaps less grotesquely, in the north. During the local elections of 1879 at Milan the ballot was 'watered' by throwing handfuls of imaginary votes into the urn, a practice which does not speak well for the efficiency of the presiding officers.

These are only a few of the endless tricks by which *the secrets of the ballot have been divulged, or its results*

falsified. The law—not a severe one—against electoral malpractices is rarely enforced, partly from the great difficulty there is in getting trustworthy evidence, partly because disputed elections are still adjudicated on by a committee of the Chamber, and not by an independent tribunal. And it must in fairness be remembered how freely the most circumstantial allegations of fraudulent practices are made by a defeated party. These quickly find their way into print, and, in the absence of any searching public investigation, are perpetuated as established truth.

Last autumn, before there was any prospect of so early a dissolution, ministers announced a scheme for the reform of the voting machinery, which would have assimilated it in several respects to the British system, and would certainly have struck at the root of the frauds we have described. Candidates were to be publicly proclaimed beforehand, and voting was to consist, as with us, in making a mark on a blank space beside the candidate's printed name, whilst new regulations were to be made as to polling places and presiding officers. But no more was heard of the proposal when the dissolution approached, and this election has been in all respects like its forerunners. The Government, it is true, at first assumed a position of neutrality, alleging their desire to ascertain the genuine feeling of the country, and to exercise no undue pressure in any form. And this determination seems to have been pretty well adhered to, as far as regards the Socialists and extreme Radicals, who for the first time seem to have had fair play, and were able to capture a few more seats in consequence. But the adherents of Signor Crispi, who came off very badly indeed at the polls, declare that no stone was left unturned, no form of pressure unexercised, to turn the scale against them. To some extent we suspect that this is but the usual cry of the defeated, especially when they have been accustomed for some time past to sail with the stream; but it is probable that the Ministry of the Interior, which manages these things, could not resist the temptation to exert its power; certainly the prefects and their subordinates did not always abstain from interference, whether under superior orders or from mere habit. In other cases the hand of the Government was forced by the exigencies of local *clientèle*, and they were constrained by their powerful supporters to belie their own professions. This is the more unbecoming in an Administration whose chief title to confidence, when summoned to power in a moment of national peril, was the

inflexible uprightness of its leading statesmen. It is an instance of that want of self-confidence and backbone in carrying out their high principles in the face of difficulty and opposition which is commonly thought to constitute their chief danger, and it explains the opinion so widely, though we believe unjustly, held that the Prime Minister has lost his faith in straightforwardness, and set his heart on playing a part, for which he is little fitted, in emulation of the successes of Depretis as an old Parliamentary hand.

The preponderance of local interests over national issues has the worst possible effect on the Deputies themselves. The majority of them do not occupy their time or their thoughts with questions of national welfare at all. They rarely address their constituents in public, even at election time. The real business of their lives is to conduct an endless correspondence with their district, which wants impossible lines of railway and public works, and with their supporters, who want contracts, appointments, and promotion, not only in the Government service but in that of the railway companies, and even in private undertakings. The rest of their time is busied with perpetual calls at the ministries to press these interests and their own, and with all the engrossing details of the art of lobbying. The strongest local ring returns the man who best can serve it, or who has most thoroughly mastered it. He comes to Rome unpledged to any definite policy. He allies himself in the Chamber with the group he thinks most likely to advance his own interests and those of the local connexion to whom he owes his seat. The Deputy from the south, where he is looked upon as a mere conduit pipe for the distribution of jobs and patronage to the right people, is the freest to shift his party position and to follow his own conviction or his own fancy on national questions. Italy has been pictured by one of her own Senators as ruled by an oligarchy of some hundred or so of the most forcible Deputies, associated by self-interest into ever-changing groups, that melt away and unite again, as the individuals who form them change their attitude in the game of tripping up rivals, be they colleagues or opponents.

In the earlier years of unity the Chamber was divided into two parties—a Right, composed of moderate Liberals, the heirs of Cavourian tradition; and a Radical Left, with a decided republican leaning. The reactionary party in the country has never had a footing in the Chamber. With two very brief intervals the Right were in power con-

tinuously from January 1861 till March 1876. To them is due the thorough unification of the country, the defeat of regional and reactionary sedition, the war of 1866, with the consequent acquisition of Venetia, the repression of the premature Garibaldian attempts on Rome, and the final annexation of that city in 1870. To accomplish these ends they had been obliged to burden the country with an immense public debt, and had conferred oppressive powers on their fiscal agents to ensure the collection of the reluctantly paid taxes. Moreover, in order to keep in check the forces of the revolutionaries on one side and of clerical and dynastic reaction on the other, they had recourse to an over-centralised administration, to control of elections through the prefects, and to filling offices with their own most trustworthy followers. Edge tools these, which, after the election of 1876, passed into the hands of their opponents. But the great problems of national existence and unity were already solved. In dealing with those of internal reform, financial, administrative, and legal, the Left did not prove successful. The defeat of the Right had been so complete that there was no effective opposition in the Chamber to ensure unity within the dominant party itself. Moreover the triumph of the Left was greatly due to its having swept the southern constituencies, not from any real prevalence of Radical opinion there, but because all the different elements of accumulating dissatisfaction, often in their own nature more really conservative than the supporters of the Right, saw no banner under which to range themselves but that of the Left. Conservative in spirit, though casting their vote with the progressists, this phalanx of southern Deputies led the way to the 'Transformist' ministries of later years. There is no doubt, too, that the Left, as a whole, and especially the southern group, were men of a somewhat lower standard of political integrity than their predecessors. Drawn from rather a lower social grade, and of less pecuniary independence, they were more tempted to abuse their position as Deputies to better their own fortunes. Many had belonged to the revolutionary and republican secret societies of an earlier day, and were too much disposed to carry their methods into the humdrum business of wire-pulling. The predominance of sentimental doctrinaires among the Left was, and has continued to be, another cause of administrative failure. Advocates and journalists, alike bred on almost exclusively legal studies, this class of politicians is subtle and rhetorical, with little

practical sense of the country's needs. 'We must not be 'the last to carry this reform,' 'We must keep pace with 'the progress of science,' are the sort of phrases that have carried many a measure. The anxiety that Italy should distinguish herself, by being the first nation to abolish capital punishment, did more for its abolition than any positive arguments.

The rapid decay of the Left from internal causes—for the Right never recovered the blow of 1876—was followed by a gradual obliteration of the dividing line between the two parties. The absence of any really distinctive political creed on either side made it possible for members of the Right to accept office in Cabinets of the Left, whilst premiers of the latter party modified their programmes to admit them. Mr. Lowell succinctly traces this process through successive administrations until we find, 'instead of two great parties, 'a number of groups, sometimes united and sometimes 'hostile to each other, ever forming new combinations, until 'it becomes almost impossible to follow their evolution.'

Two men only, both of them thorough masters of the game, have succeeded in maintaining their hold on such an assemblage for any length of time. But they both did so at the cost of sacrificing the internal prosperity of Italy to the Cerberus they had to appease. Signor Depretis, by sheer skill in fence and manœuvre, managed to retain the premiership, with brief intervals, from March 25, 1876, till his own death in July 1887. He was only out of office for thirteen months during the whole of those eleven years, for he was himself Minister of the Interior in his rival Cairoli's third Cabinet.

Signor Crispi, who attained the same mastery over the Chamber by his fearless attitude and predominant force of will, is made of very different stuff. A Sicilian of the Sicilians, an advocate by profession, an old conspirator in the cause of his country's freedom, one of the thousand who landed with Garibaldi at Marsala, his is by far the most striking figure that has appeared on the stage of Italian politics since the death of Cavour. He has, indeed, a master will rather than a master mind. His patriotism is genuine, but the scale of his ambition for Italy has been so little proportioned to her resources that his 'Megalomania' has added a new term to the daily vocabulary of his countrymen. He is not free from the national love of rhetoric, and the apparent temerity he has at times shown has been attributed to a lack of general information. Deeply infected

with that cynical suspicion of all men's motives and virtue which we have alluded to as being so common in Italy, and trained in a political school that was never too squeamish in its selection of means, it is probable that he never has been fully conscious of the vital importance to good government of strict discipline and scrupulous honesty in every nook and cranny of the public service. His family relations have been a hindrance and not a help to him in public life. And his more intimate circle of personal adherents are not thought to have been clean-handed, whatever may be the truth as to his own personal integrity. Had he been as anxious to reform the internal conditions of his country as he was to make its name, coupled with his own, resound in Europe, his splendid energy and resolution might easily have overcome the dull resistance of interests, traditions, and habits, which are likely to defeat any half-hearted reformer, and he would have left a far deeper mark in the affections of Italy, a far greater name in history than can ever now be his. But he made no real effort to purify public life, or to discipline the servants of the State. He was satisfied to suppress by drastic methods the agrarian revolt in Sicily and the Socialistic upheaval of the quarrymen of Carrara. No financier himself, he showed good judgement when he entrusted that vital interest of the State to Signor Sonnino. Unfortunately his reluctance to admit any trenchant reductions gave no fair field to the great capabilities of the latter. Yet neither the exhaustion of over-taxation nor the deep dissatisfaction of all good citizens with the degradation and inefficiency of their institutions, nor even the lava fury of repressed anarchy, would have sufficed to oust him from his high seat, had he listened to reason and remonstrance in his Abyssinian policy. For his fall marks a new epoch in Italian history. It was not due to desertion by electors or Deputies, nor to the intrigues of shifting groups. It was the great disaster to Italian arms and ambitions at Adowa on March 1, 1896, that fell on him like a lightning stroke.

The responsibility for those fatal African errors, which in Signor Crispi were undoubtedly due in no small degree to ignorance, must be shared by others. Perhaps it lies most heavily on the shoulders of the financier of his Cabinet. Sidney Sonnino, with his Hebrew descent, his almost English education, his upright principles, his long and thorough political and financial training, was not unaware of the danger. He had been thoroughly averse to the whole Abyssinian cam-

paign. He knew its hidden risks. He knew how empty was the dream of a golden Ethiopian empire. He knew it must be the death blow to the financial equilibrium for which he had worked so hard. Yet, although more than once on the verge of resigning, he allowed his objections to be overruled by the master will of his chief, and the country which looked to him for counsels of wisdom and prudence to believe that he approved. Possibly personal loyalty blinded him; perhaps he was tempted by the hope of the mantle—the mantle which now seems to have passed away from him, and to be more likely, should the Rudinì Ministry fall, to wrap the shoulders of Signor Zanardelli, the doctrinaire, or to envelope the land in the pall of a second Giolitti Administration.

Summoned as it was to face a moment of imminent national peril, although at the time in a minority in the Chamber, the most hopeful feature in the present Ministry seemed to be its independence of the balance of political groups and changes of personal allegiance. Many of its friends at the time based their hopes for it on the known tenacity of will and inflexibility of character of General Ricotti, who went to the War Office. But within six months he resigned on the question of army organisation and expenditure. The Duke of Sermoneta and Signor Colombo followed him into private life, but this severe blow was compensated by the Marquis Visconti Venosta's acceptance of the portfolio for Foreign Affairs in succession to the Duke. Visconti Venosta had held the same office in the Ministry of the Right, until that party's fall in 1876. From that day he withdrew into the quiet retirement of thought and study, never consenting to accept either Cabinet office or diplomatic post from ministries of whose conduct of affairs he disapproved. His return to politics at this juncture was the highest testimonial that his colleagues could receive to their integrity of character and purpose. In England and America his name is well known as a member of the Court of Arbitration on the Behring Sea question, which sat at Paris in 1894. His dignified impassiveness of manner and perfect diplomatic courtesy—the result of a gentle nature and long training in the best of schools—his experience of foreign affairs when the international position of Italy was far more difficult than it has since become, and above all his absolute single-mindedness in her service, make him acceptable to the foreign statesmen with whom he has relations, and a bulwark and ornament to his country.

Another minister who is doing good work, and making

headway in the favour of public opinion, is Signor Prinetti, the energetic young Minister for Public Works. But he has an Augean stable to cleanse, and unless strongly backed by his colleagues may not prove himself the Hercules for whose appearance all well-wishers of Italy are longing. Admiral Brin, the Minister of Marine, has held the same post in no less than seven previous ministerial combinations,—five under Depretis and two under Crispi. His professional and technical competence is generally admitted. We trust that in his present harness he may exercise a closer supervision over the inception of naval contracts, and that he will see that the country gets good value for its money. But he is clearly attached to office, and his colleagues may find him a broken reed when friends begin to fail them.

Of the Prime Minister himself it is more difficult to speak. A high-bred gentleman, whose personal integrity is beyond all breath of suspicion, he is, like Signor Crispi, a Sicilian. But, unlike him, he is a great landowner instead of an advocate. His wide information and moderate opinions mark the man who is born into politics, and has made them his study from his youth. His calm nature, more like that of a northern statesman, is devoid of southern exaggerations of manner and expression. But the impression made during his previous tenure of office was not altogether favourable. He was thought to show some want of self-reliance and tenacity of purpose, and he then made the great mistake of trying to conciliate some powerful groups by giving the Home Office to the late Signor Nicotera, a man of considerable energy, who at one time had risked his head in a premature attempt to overthrow the Bourbon tyranny, but the very incarnation of the spirit of the Neapolitan *clientèle*.

The support given to Rudinì in the late Chamber by the Radical and Republican groups in combating the common enemy—African adventure and internal corruption—and his undoubtedly neutral, if not almost friendly, attitude towards them during the last election, have been thrown in his teeth and interpreted as a shabby electioneering intrigue which must lead to disastrous surrender to the forces of disorder. We do not conceive this to be a fair criticism, the real danger of the country for the moment not being Socialism, which has no peculiar features in Italy, and is certainly a less grave phenomenon there than in France. But the support of the extreme men can obviously be only temporary and spasmodic, and when it fails the cohesion of the majority will much depend on the solidarity of the Ministry and on the power the Premier may show of holding his own.

Meanwhile we may ask what use the Government is making of its opportunities. The excellence of its intentions no one doubts. It is fully alive to the mischief done by local and administrative abuses, and to the necessities of the financial position. A Bill has been introduced to preclude communal and provincial councillors and employés and their relations from having any interest in municipal contracts, and to make local authorities personally answerable for sundry irregularities, in which they have hitherto been encouraged by their practical freedom from responsibility. A second Bill provides that, when a communal council has been dissolved three times within ten years, the Government shall nominate half the councillors, and the new council thus composed shall sit for three years. Other proposals are the formation of new rural communes or *borgate*, with ten years' exemption from sundry imposts, and the division of the existing communes into two classes, one composed of the larger towns and the other of smaller communities with more limited powers.

These intended reforms seem to be in the right direction, as far as they go. More disputable schemes are the introduction of a 'referendum,' enabling communal councils, and also the provincial junta, to consult the electors on particular measures of taxation and expenditure, and an alteration of the local franchise, giving one or more extra votes to the heads of middle-class households. We cannot here discuss the merits of this proposal or the probability of its ever being seriously pressed. If it is it will undoubtedly be hotly contested, and those Radicals who give a loose support to the Government will fight it tooth and nail.

Some degree of decentralisation is to be aimed at by making the province the final authority on various matters now submitted to the central Government at Rome. A bolder step has been the appointment of Count Codronchi as civil commissioner for Sicily, with wide powers and a seat in the Cabinet. This new departure elicited a storm of criticism; it was a concession to a vanishing regionalism; it was impossible for a minister to be at once at a council in Rome and at his post in the island. But of course it is an obvious advantage to ensure that the commissioner's views shall have full weight with the Ministry and not be defeated by intrigue. And the position is no more anomalous than that of an Irish Chief Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet.*

* Rumours are afloat that Count Codronchi is to be recalled during the month of July.

Some, at any rate, of the ministers are exerting themselves to check the waste through peculation and jobbery, at the risk of incurring the odium of a class whose influence at election time is considerable. Signor Prinetti is active in this respect. He has also been taking drastic measures with his budget of public works, and counts on effecting a saving of nine millions of lire in 1897–98, and of eight and a half millions in 1898–99. With regard to expenditure on railways, which for years has been, next to the army, the heaviest drain on Italian resources, the more recent lines being hopelessly unremunerative, he declares that, with the exception of a few miles required to connect branches already completed, he has not conceded, and will not concede, the construction of a single new line. Indeed, his general views on the subject will commend themselves to English ways of thinking, for he holds that in Italy railway construction and working should have been left to regulated private enterprise, and excluded from the direct functions of the State. The necessity of moderating the harsher fiscal exactions, which add little or nothing to the revenue, whilst tormenting the taxpayer, is also recognised, and Bills have been introduced to mitigate some of the grievances connected with the tax on buildings and the income tax. The income-tax reforms include some provisions hostile to foreign capital employed in Italy, and are chiefly aimed at the relief of agriculture, much to the disgust of the chambers of commerce of large towns, such as Genoa and Milan, which, however, are quite able to take care of themselves. It is said that instructions have been circulated to the fiscal agents to avoid unnecessarily harassing the public whilst executing their duty.

By arriving at an understanding with France on the thorny subject of the Tunisian capitulations Signor Visconti Venosta has given a new and happier turn to relations with the French nation generally, and has paved the way to the possibility of a new commercial agreement with that country, formerly Italy's best customer.

The gradual amelioration of the general financial position begun by Signor Sonnino, but interrupted by the unforeseen African expenditure, has now resumed its course. It is testified to by the price of 'Rentes' and the state of exchange, in spite of the anxiety that has been caused by Eastern affairs. The problem is greatly simplified by the abandonment of the policy of adventure in Africa, which is, of course, the very *raison d'être* of the present Administration. It is no sudden determination arrived at in a fit of panic or

of parsimony. The Marquis di Rudinì has constantly shown his aversion to the scheme of an Erythræan dominion. The truth is that Massowah was originally occupied in 1885 with a purely political end in view, but so rapid and unexpected was the march of events at the time that this end almost immediately became unattainable. To escape such an avowal, which might have been damaging to the Ministry then in office, the new acquisition was represented to the country as a promising base for colonisation. This delusion having been once started led to the extension of the occupation to the high tableland—a possible though not a hopeful field for the emigrant—to consequent friction with Abyssinia and the Dervishes, and to all that followed. Some of the most persistent advocates of the acquisition of a suitable opening for Italian emigration—Signor Brunialti, for instance—have always condemned the Erythræan scheme. It has cost 8,000 men and between 400 and 500 millions of lire. It has weakened the position of Italy in Europe. It has attracted no emigrants. It has given absolutely no results. In a recent debate the Marquis di Rudinì deliberately declared to the Chamber that, even had he a surplus of 100 millions, he should hold himself a traitor to the interests of the country if he spent another farthing of the sum on Erythræa. All thoughtful men, who are true friends to Italy, must agree with him. But, although there could be little doubt that the real feeling of the country was with him, the complete approval of the Chamber remained a matter of uncertainty until the division of May 22, when the Government received a vote of confidence in its African policy by 242 votes to 94, with 20 abstentions. And now, should no grave European complication supervene, there will be little difficulty in maintaining the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure.

But in the same speech already quoted the Premier has proclaimed aloud the real duty of the Government—to take thought for the suffering workers, to lighten the taxes on articles of consumption, to come to the rescue of the small freeholder, to cast aside those hateful weapons of fiscal oppression which have become an odious necessity. His words are only too true, but the relief cannot come without retrenchment of the most heroic nature. The resources of the country are too much strained to allow of great improvement from a rearrangement of taxation. Temporary decrease of revenue cannot be risked. Where can really great reductions be made? The waste on unprofitable public works seems to be already checked; but

there are endless useful works crying aloud for means. There remains the army, most voracious mouth of all. But will the knife really be applied here? We fear not. The question lies in a nutshell. The large army is beyond the resources of the country. It is now larger than needful for defence, and Italy has no longer vast schemes of aggrandisement beyond the sea. But public opinion, which moves slowly, does not fully recognise these facts, and still lives in the past. Until national unity was crowned by the entry into Rome in 1870, it demanded of all patriotic Italians the utmost military efforts. That entry, whilst France was under a cloud, offended the sister country so deeply, touching to the quick the reverential feelings of devout sons of the Church and the vanity of the rest of the nation, that reduction of the army remained out of the question. Then the French occupation of Tunis, after the mistakes of Italian diplomatists during the Congress of Berlin had led to the isolation of their country, gave rise to an even greater sense of irritation in Italy, and brought about her entrance into the Triple Alliance. The feeling between the two nations was further exasperated by workmen's rivalries, and above all by the misogallic language and policy of Signor Crispi, who continued to use France as a bugbear long after any real danger from her had passed away. With his fall that particular irritant ceased to act, and the present Ministry may justly boast that Italy has not an enemy in Europe. Nor need she ever have one, unless through aggressive policy of her own. But the army is popular, and public sentiment is not ripe for serious retrenchment, which it would unjustly regard as cowardly. Military prejudices, too, as well as the vested interests of army furnishers and of countless decent families, that would not know what to do with their sons, for whom the army provides an honourable though not luxurious livelihood, are an obstacle to reduction on a large scale; and last, but not least, it could not be so much as named to the King. The incompatibility between the needs of the twelve corps of which the Italian army has been composed since 1882 and financial resources was long veiled by the system of keeping a small number of men with the colours in time of peace, whilst maintaining the large 'cadres.' Two hundred and fifty men is the strength of the company on a war footing, but only 80 to 90 in time of peace. Stores and equipments, too, had been allowed to fall to a dangerously low level. Abyssinia burst the bubble. The utter breakdown of the transport and commissariat services, and the

want of cohesion among troops two-thirds of whom had only just been recalled to the colours, more than counterbalanced striking instances of individual courage and self-devotion.

The first anxiety of General Ricotti on accepting office was to restore efficiency within the limits of financial possibility. He accordingly proposed a return to ten corps, with sundry lesser changes. But he met with opposition in high quarters. It is believed that the King would not hear of the reduction which he thought incompatible with the honour of his house. Other ministers would not stake their existence to overcome this reluctance, and so in July 1896 General Ricotti resigned. His place was taken by General Pelloux, a steadfast advocate of the twelve army corps, whose Army Regulation Bill came before the Chamber in the month of May. It was made a question of confidence, and in the actual state of public opinion, which had remained unaffected by Ricotti's resignation, the debate was merely academic and the result a foregone conclusion. On a division there was a majority of 109 for the Government. And so seems to have vanished, for the present at least, all hope of real military retrenchment. In vain may ministers strain their ears to hear the voice of discontent. Funds may rise and financiers may flourish again, but Italian industry, Italian land, and Italian peasants remain the most heavily burdened in the world.

Yet Italy has overcome greater difficulties than those that now hem her in. Surely the land which so easily won her national liberties, when her sons for a short moment showed themselves really united in passionate determination, which so quickly rose above regional jealousies to a true unity of sentiment, can put the knife to the canker of extravagance, can impose restraints on crime, can purify her administration and reform her municipalities, can ensure fair play for the marvellous industry * of her workers. The men of Italy have not lost their brilliant powers of mind, their cunning, or their tact. Let them but convert their deep love for their fatherland into moral fibre; let them but prove themselves men indeed, and all will yet be well.

* It is, of course, an exploded fallacy that the operatives and peasants are lazy or idle. Judged not only by their long hours, but by the actual effort they put forth, there are no workers like those Italians who actually live by the sweat of their brow. Laziness, idleness, and worthlessness are confined to the classes whose hands are smooth, from the half-starved copying clerk to the dandies who loaf about smart cafés and promenades. They indeed toil not, neither do they spin.

ART. II.—1. *Climbs in the New Zealand Alps, being an Account of Discovery and Travel.* By E. A. FITZGERALD, F.R.G.S. London: 1896.

2. *The Alps from End to End.* By Sir WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY. London: 1895.

3. *The Scenery of Switzerland and the Causes to which it is Due.* By the Right Hon. Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P. London: 1896.

4. *The Exploration of the Caucasus.* By DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD. London and New York: 1896.

FIFTEEN years or so ago few publishers would have had the temerity to accept a book dealing with mountaineering. Twenty years previously the demand for this description of literature had been strongly pronounced; but the mine then so successfully exploited was supposed to be exhausted, and there seemed no probability that for a long time to come it could be worked again with advantage. It is beyond our purpose now to inquire into the causes that led after so short an interval to the renewal of a demand for mountain literature. It is sufficient to note the fact that books dealing with mountain travel, even with the well-known Alps, have been during the past few years increasingly popular, and that at present the fashion—if it be no more than a fashion—shows no sign of decay. Our present purpose is rather to consider how far the literature has become modified. In one respect a change may be noted that is matter for regret. Alpine books are now too often commercial speculations. Every possible means of directing the attention of the public to the author is employed. The interview, the puff preparatory, or any other anticipatory form of advertisement is constantly adopted. Preliminary articles appear in the newspapers and affect the tone of the completed work, which too frequently suggests the style of the journalist. Perhaps the newly adopted methods furnish at once the explanation why the new books are in such good request, and why they have in such great measure lost the charm of the older works.

The volumes published by the earlier members of the Alpine Club, which came into being at the beginning of 1858, were undeniably those that first attracted the attention of the general reader and created a public who had scarcely heard of De Saussure, and looked on the writings of Forbes

or Gottlieb Studer as belonging purely to the domains of science. The authors of 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers' dealt with mountaineering as a new kind of sport, and revealed an unworked field for adventure and travel. The men who wrote these accounts managed to tinge their pages with that glow of exhilaration so familiar and so attractive to the mountaineer engaged in his favourite pastime. The very freshness of the narratives carried the reader away. One of the great charms of mountaineering lies in the ability to recall in after years every detail of an expedition with the utmost vividness; to feel almost the same thrill that was experienced at the actual time of magnificent views suddenly opening out to the gaze, of successes won after long hours of suspense and doubt, of dangers grappled with and overcome by skill and foresight. It mattered little that to the non-mountaineer the accounts of the expeditions might be held to vary but little; every reader who had passed through a similar experience was able to call up a host of pictures of the same nature in his mind.

It is tolerably evident indeed from some of the modern literature that lack of variety in the style of description need not necessarily become a weariness to the reading public. In many of the accounts recently published the method of treatment is scarcely altered at all from that which was first adopted some forty years ago. Since the publication of 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers' the developement of the technique of mountaineering has been very great. Far more difficult climbs are now accomplished, and the whole art of climbing mountains has been rendered tolerably precise. Yet the principles have undergone no material alteration.

Alpine literature readily falls into a few well-marked categories. There are books dealing with the subject solely as a holiday pastime. In such the personality of the author counts for much. We may instance Mr. Leslie Stephen's admirable 'Playground of Europe,' Mr. Justice Wills's delightful 'Wanderings in the High Alps,' or the equally charming record by Mr. Hinchliff of 'Summer Months 'among the Alps.' In another class we have travel combined with mountaineering; while yet another—of which Professor Bonney's 'The Alpine Regions' or Professor Tyndall's 'Hours of Exercise in the Alps' are familiar examples—draws attention to the scientific problems that the mountains suggest, and endeavours to expound them in a simple or even in a popular form. The recent works men-

tioned at the head of this article are good examples that fall readily into the recognised classes.

There exists, it is true, a 'new' school of mountaineers, inclined to question some of the maxims laid down by the pioneers of the craft, and disposed also to regard as antiquated rules which the older mountaineers held it absolutely necessary to observe in order to ensure the maximum degree of safety in a pursuit from which the element of risk cannot be wholly eliminated. The late Mr. Mummery was regarded as the leader of this school. In his 'Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus,' published in 1895, he is said by some to have upset many of the old theories, and to have laid down the doctrines of the new school. Mr. Mummery, however, was perhaps the most accomplished climber who ever joined the ranks of the Alpine Club. He was one of those who by wide experience and long practice was fully justified in pursuing his own line, and being undeniably qualified to make rules was perhaps privileged to break them. Many of his feats were of a very daring and very remarkable nature. In the Alps he achieved successfully climbs which none of the pioneers of mountaineering either could or would have attempted, and no doubt, with his exceptional skill and power, he ran no more risk in his most difficult feats than the earlier mountaineers did in ascending Monte Rosa or traversing the Schwarz Thor. Allowing for the altered conditions and for the accumulated experience, the accounts he gave of his mountain climbs really differ but little from those first given to the public, and only experts could properly appreciate the contrast between his feats and those of the earlier climbers. Mr. Mummery adopted frankly the old literary style, and sought to stimulate his readers, never to instruct them. Authors were, however, seeking how they might vary what even an enthusiast must sometimes feel a monotony of description. The older contributors to Alpine literature wrote because they seemed to have it in them and could not help themselves. The effort to keep up the high pressure was more evident in later works. With the demand for a plentiful supply of Alpine literature arose a class of book, of which previously there had been but few examples, in which it was recognised more definitely that mountaineering might be treated as a form of travel. A definite journey could be undertaken, mountainous districts hitherto little known visited and the glamour of the explorer thrown over the mountaineer. What had hitherto been sport it was perceived might be turned into a business and into a profit-

able business. Mr. Whymper led the way again in his visit to the Great Andes of the Equator, a journey undertaken primarily with scientific objects, of which the principal was to study the effect of diminished pressure on the human frame. The outcome of that journey was a very admirable work, which has never perhaps achieved quite the popularity it deserved, largely, no doubt, owing to the fact that the volumes were published so long after the completion of the expedition. Here was a reversal to the style of Forbes and De Saussure. Mr. Whymper's book was weighted perhaps with too much solid science to be acceptable to the general reader, who in mountain literature seems to prefer that the scientific observations should be relegated to appendices, about which he need not trouble himself. Of a similar character to Mr. Whymper's book, omitting the science, is the description of a visit to the Alps of New Zealand by Mr. E. A. FitzGerald. It labours under the defect—one that the greatest art is required to conceal—that the author seems to have his book in mind from the moment of starting to the very end of his expedition. No work can ever be so free and spontaneous as one in which the traveller has merely kept notes for his own interest during his journey, and which he finds on his return are really worth developing into a volume. To deliberately organise an expedition with the main object of producing some sort of book at the end is to seriously prejudice the success of the work. The artist, the botanist, and the student of natural history may all figure as *dramatis personæ* in the work, but it is impossible to keep out of sight from the beginning to the end one functionary whose name is never mentioned, and that is the publisher.

Mr. FitzGerald has only then partially followed the example of Mr. Whymper in the Andes and Sir Martin Conway in the Karakorams, for his book on New Zealand is essentially a work dealing with the country from the climber's point of view. The book is described as an account of travel and discovery. The extent to which he succeeded in the latter object has been questioned. It is far from our intention to re-open a controversy of no wide importance, and now, by the good sense of all parties, presumably closed. Impartial judges seem to agree that, on the whole, Mr. FitzGerald has vindicated his claim to discovery. One of the most practical results of Mr. FitzGerald's exploration was the crossing of a pass comparable, perhaps, in its nature to the well-known Monte

Moro, over the southern portion of the chain. The route lies between the Hermitage, a refuge by the Hooker river, on the E., and the valley of the Copland river which runs down to the W. coast. It is of small moment to inquire who first noticed the route. In such matters a remark made by Sydney Smith applies forcibly, that credit for originality should be assigned not to the man who first devises something new, but to him who forces the value of the discovery on others.

Of the excellence and variety of the mountaineering accomplished by Mr. FitzGerald there can be little difference of opinion, and no one can gainsay that he discovered many routes up peaks which had either been neglected or discarded as impossible. Measured by an Asiatic or even by a European standard, the heights of the peaks climbed may seem comparatively low.* But it is abundantly clear from the experience of others who have climbed mountains and explored glaciers in New Zealand—for instance, the Rev. W. S. Green, the late Emil Boss, and the members of the New Zealand Alpine Club—that the snow and ice conditions are as unfavourable as might be expected in a country where the range is precipitous and close to the sea. The rock peaks, too, are evidently difficult. Moreover, a climber has to estimate the height of a mountain by the elevation of the part that presents serious climbing difficulty, not by the mere height above the sea-level. Thus Mount Sefton is stated to rise from the valley to fully as great a height as does the Matterhorn from the village of Zermatt, and at a far steeper angle.

Mr. FitzGerald's book suffers from the disadvantage common to most of the recent works dealing with mountains in that it is too large, and as a volume too pretentious in general get-up for the matter which it contains. A book professing to be a monograph or a work of reference may not suffer by being printed on very thick paper and with a ponderous binding; but an account which appeals to the general reader chiefly anxious for spirited and graphic descriptions of mountain adventure ought to be cast in a more readable form. The inclusion of many illustrations in the text may require stout paper in order to do them justice;

* The height of Mount Cook is given in the well-drawn map that accompanies Mr. FitzGerald's book as 12,348 ft. In passing, we regret to learn, on Mr. FitzGerald's authority, that it is wrong to apply the poetical name of Aorangi to this peak.

but in this case the bulk of the illustrations in the text are initial letters, and might well have been spared altogether. The author is a young writer—a fact which is abundantly evident throughout his pages. He does not turn the advantage to full account. It is only here and there that he contrives to impart any of that freshness to his narrative which would amply condone any want of literary experience. Rightly or wrongly, the reader is apt to judge of the contents of a book by his impressions of the exterior, and is prone to resent the disappointment if the perusal does not fulfil his expectation. In this matter the publisher is more to blame than the author, and the fact should not be overlooked that the modern tendency to get up a volume in what is called very handsome style leads to a prejudiced opinion of the contents when they are revealed. A judicious artist does not entrust the setting of his picture to the taste of the frame-maker.

Mr. FitzGerald was very fortunate in one respect. He had with him a guide of the very first rank; one who has certainly never been surpassed in his ability to show the highest qualities of a mountaineer in unfamiliar countries. As a rule Swiss guides when taken to the Andes, the Himalaya, or elsewhere far afield, have, with exceedingly few exceptions, disappointed their employers. Guides judge of the mountains they have to confront too much by the standard that they have acquired at home, and are constantly unable either to correctly estimate the scale they have to deal with or to adapt themselves to unusual surroundings. Mr. FitzGerald was, of course, the official leader of the expedition, but he acknowledges to the full that his success was mainly due to the guide Zurbriggen, who fitly wound up a series of remarkable mountaineering exploits by ascending Mount Cook alone. For the first ascent of mountains like Mount Sefton and Mount Tasman, it is quite plain from the accounts that a guide of Zurbriggen's calibre was really needed; and if the circumstances of the descent from the Silberhorn—a point on the ridge lying just south of Mount Tasman—in a storm in any way resembled the astonishing illustration which forms the frontispiece, even Zurbriggen must have had his powers taxed to the very utmost.

Mr. FitzGerald's book is likely to have a considerable effect on mountain exploration in New Zealand. Some years ago when a small band of our countrymen, resident in New Zealand, decided to form an Alpine Club, it was suggested, we believe, to them that, however limited the funds

at their disposal might be, they would do well to devote the greater part of their resources to engaging a Swiss guide, who might teach them how to attack their mountains. The advice was not followed. The members of the Club displayed extreme energy and perseverance in the exploration of the New Zealand Alps, and in attempting the ascents of some of the most difficult peaks; but, as was to be expected, they did not at first utilise their power to the best advantage. Strength, pluck, and determination count for much; but there is a great deal that must be positively learnt in mountaineering. Mr. FitzGerald does not fail to point this moral in his pages, but the lesson is driven home somewhat harshly and without any particular endeavour to avoid wounding a very natural *amour propre*. Still the lesson had to be learnt, and the outcome will be but good if it leads to the better husbanding of power, to more systematic plans of attack in devising mountain ascents, and to the achievement of better results with diminished risk. There is plenty left for the New Zealand mountaineers to do, and they are not the men to throw up the game merely because they may have lost a few points at the outset.

A few brief notes inserted in the form of appendices on 'Some Rock Specimens,' by Professor Bonney; 'On the 'Flora,' by Lady E. Fitzmaurice; and 'On Birds and New 'Zealand Trout,' by Mr. Claud Barrow, are all the items of science that the book contains, and even these seem a little out of place. There are but few notes of any consequence on the physical geography of the country. The general material of the work can be gathered from the index. Only the scantiest references can be found to any information which might be of general value to an explorer, or even to other works dealing with the mountains of New Zealand. There is some unintentional humour in the index. Some of the entries relating to a young native named Clark, who was employed to carry provisions and look after the camp and to do odd jobs generally, are ridiculously trivial. Thus we notice 'Clark (slips) 91, 92, (his carelessness) 93, '(falls on the ice),' followed by so many references that we cannot enumerate them; or again, later on, 'Zurbriggen (in 'a rage) 10, (catches his foot),' followed by nine references, 'loses his hat,' followed by ten. This is surely the very *reductio ad absurdum* of an index. It is only fair to say that the compilation does very scant justice to the interest and the numerous merits of the volume. Regarded as a series of sketches recording some very interesting, well-

planned, and difficult mountain climbs, the book deserves well of the public; but something more than ability in climbing, or energy and courage in planning mountain exploration, is needed for a volume whose chief defect is that it is too ambitious. Mr. FitzGerald commits the same fault in literature which he ascribes to his New Zealand companions in their mountaineering, that of burdening themselves with too much weight, and without literary experience or literary skill of attempting a higher flight than he is capable of reaching. Yet there is evidence throughout of a true love of mountains and of that enthusiasm which will condone in the eyes of the reader the defects which seem to loom large in the judgement of the reviewer. We may hope that the volume which will doubtless follow the expedition to the Andes, on which the author has been recently engaged, will be conceived in a rather more chastened style, and that added experience will tone down crudities which, after all, are but small defects in a work dealing with travel and adventure where the author is necessarily his own hero.

Very different in conception and widely different in execution is Sir Martin Conway's account of his journey through the 'Alps from End to End.' Starting from the Colle di Tenda in the Maritime Alps, thence by Mont Blanc, the Northern Oberland ridge and its eastward continuations, the party made their way to the eastern extremity of Switzerland, and thence across the Tyrol, the final goal being the Ankogl, some 200 miles from Vienna. Mr. FitzGerald and Zurbriggen were also members of the party. The route lay at a high level throughout. The idea was a thoroughly good one and decidedly novel, being the practical expression pushed to the greatest possible extent of Sir Martin Conway's often expressed views on the undesirability of mountaineering solely from one central spot. The author was fully possessed of the literary skill to weave a connected story out of his journey. Even though no 'new 'expedition,' as a climber would phrase it, might be accomplished, the journey for purposes of description, having a definite aim and object, was certain to be free from the monotony now inseparable from all Alpine literature which endeavours to treat of the pursuit in the style of the writers of forty years ago. The work of organisation was of course child's play to one who had shown himself fully capable of dealing successfully with the difficulties of planning a journey through wholly unknown and far remote glacier districts,

such as those in the Karakorams. From beginning to end the plan of campaign was thoroughly well arranged, so that the programme was faithfully performed.

We need not follow the details of Sir Martin Conway's journey, which covered, roughly, a thousand miles, accomplished in sixty-five days of actual marching. The book suggests, indirectly, in a very striking manner the minuteness with which the topography of the Alps has been worked out by mountaineers, and the extent to which mountaineering is now practised.

The advantages of a tour such as the author describes are well summed up. He points out with truth that 'a long 'mountain traverse consisting of a series of ascents and 'descents conveys a truer idea of any mountain region than 'can be yielded by a number of climbs radiating from a 'centre.' The traveller acquires a more correct idea of the scale of any view that may be unfolded, and is able to appreciate better the relation of the ranges to each other, if he has constant opportunities of looking back on the ground he traversed the day before and looking forward to the route for to-morrow. Moreover, as the author justly remarks, the wanderer has the obvious advantage of 'being enabled 'to observe and compare the qualities of scenery in different 'parts and of gaining a clear idea of the larger natural 'features.' All this is true enough. The sentiments are those of the traveller and explorer. The great majority of those who visit the Alps annually have little taste in either direction.

Sir Martin Conway notes, incidentally, the interesting fact, that he was attacked at a height of only 7,000 feet with the symptoms, in a mild form, of mountain sickness. Experience in the Karakorams led him at once to recognise the 'peculiar fatigue and the discomfort if the 'regularity of breathing were interfered with.' He asserts roundly that the cause of mountain sickness is diminution of the supply of oxygen, adopting, that is, the view that M. Paul Bert insisted on so strongly. Modern researches seem to indicate that this is only part of the truth. The question is too complex to be fully discussed here, but we may note that the author adopts unreservedly the logical conclusion of his opinions. He believes 'that the vigour of 'every man begins to be diminished at a very moderate 'height [amount not stated] above sea-level, and diminishes 'further with every increment of height till a level is reached 'where even the dullest observer perceives that something

'is wrong.' The explanation is summary, if not hasty, while it takes no account of physiological disturbances of the circulatory and nervous systems, of the altered tension of the gases of the body, or of the conditions that combine to induce fatigue.*

For the benefit of those who may be disposed to follow the author's example in traversing large districts of the Alps a chapter is contributed by the Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge, suggesting various lines for similar journeys. No one could give better advice on such a subject than Mr. Coolidge, whom Sir Martin Conway justly describes as 'the most 'learned expert in Alpine topography that has ever lived.'

Of late years there have been few attempts to deal with the scientific aspect of the mountains in a more or less popular manner. Learned and valuable treatises by authorities like Professor Heim,† of Zürich, and Professor Bonney‡ we have had; but these do not and are not intended to satisfy the requirements of those who, taking an intelligent interest in natural phenomena, wish to have these explained in a simple manner in works that are neither primers nor technical monographs. No one recognised the demands of this class more fully than the late Professor Tyndall. His best scientific work in the mountains dealt with the phenomena of the snow and ice world, with the behaviour of glaciers—in short, with the various forms of water, their action and influence on the mountains. Such a subject had the advantage of lending itself readily to demonstration by experiment, and he did not fail to make the most of this feature. His strength lay largely in his power of making science attractive, and he most judiciously adopted a style of writing which, though no mere transliteration of lecture notes, always suggested consciousness of an audience. His works on Alpine subjects give the impression of having been written in the lecture-theatre rather than in the study. It

* Possibly the recent ascent of Aconcagua by members of Mr. FitzGerald's party may add to our knowledge of mountain sickness. In a report from a member of the expedition communicated to the Daily Press, the height of Aconcagua is given as 'over 24,000 ft.' If so, it is the highest peak yet reached by mountaineers. But, as a writer in the 'Alpine Journal' (February, 1897) points out, the height assigned to the mountain by Dr. Güssfeldt, and which was determined by trigonometrical measurement, is only 22,869 ft.

† Heim, 'Untersuchungen über den Mechanismus der Gebirgsbildung.' Basel, 1878.

‡ Bonney, 'Ice-work, Past and Present.' London, 1896.

matters little whether some of his theories are in accordance with the views of the day; whether fracture and regelation, for instance, can account as fully for the phenomena of glacier motion as he is supposed to have maintained; or whether he did not hold an altogether exaggerated estimate of the power of glaciers as digging and scooping-out agents. The graphic vigour of works such as 'The Glaciers of the 'Alps' and 'Hours of Exercise in the Alps' fully achieved the object with which the former work was written—namely, 'to interest intelligent persons who may not possess any 'special scientific culture.' Naturally, such writings appealed very directly to mountaineers, who recognised that they might further the development of their favourite pursuit by the practical application of scientific facts. Tyndall's books were published just at the time when mountaineering, as a pastime, was rapidly increasing in popularity. Accepted at once as standard authorities, they achieved a vogue which had been denied to the not less brilliant, but more academic and subdued, works of authors like Forbes on similar subjects. The views enunciated by Tyndall and the explanations put forward of glacier phenomena were and are still disseminated in quarters where the actual books are unknown. Some twenty years ago lecture societies were being started all over the country. Mountain travel and adventure formed admirable subjects for lectures, and mountaineers displayed no great disinclination to appear on the platform. A mixture of narrative of personal adventure and science formed the staple of these lectures, and in the latter branch the quotations from Tyndall's Alpine writings were frequently so extensive as to suggest wholesale borrowing. It resulted that Tyndall's works became almost text-books of Alpine science. The influence of such lectures, delivered as a rule before highly receptive audiences in large provincial towns, public schools, and the like, was not only largely instrumental in popularising science, but it also created a new reading public for Alpine literature. Tyndall undoubtedly achieved his aim in interesting a large class, primarily attracted by the adventurous aspect of the new pastime, in the scientific questions suggested by the Alps, and in blending, happily, sport and science; for Tyndall was a highly skilled mountaineer. It seems strange, therefore, that no endeavour had been made to follow out the line indicated, by treating the problems of Alpine geology in the same spirit as Tyndall had dealt with the snow and ice world. Sir John Lubbock in 'The Scenery of Switzer-

'land' has endeavoured to fill the gap. Few writers were better qualified to undertake the task. He has just the requisite gifts of a sound knowledge of his subject and a light touch. To the experience of a lecturer practised in presenting to a mixed audience scientific facts in a form at once palatable and easily assimilated he unites the controlling discretion of one who respects science.

It cannot be said that the book fully answers expectation, and the reader has an uncomfortable sense that the author has not given of his best. This arises probably from the fact that the writer seems to have been in two minds—uncertain whether to deal with his subject from the severely scientific or the purely popular point of view. The result is to leave on the reader the impression of science diluted rather than expounded. There is too much technicality for the general reader desirous of understanding the physical conformation of the Alps, and the work is too fragmentary to satisfy the expert. Meanwhile, there is so much that is good in the book, especially the chapters on rivers and lakes, that we may accept it gratefully as an instalment in a field of mountain literature too little cultivated of late. The geological portions of the work amount, essentially, to a summary of the views held by the leading authorities. More of the author's own opinions on vexed questions would have been welcome. The explanation of the physical fact that rivers after running for long distances in the main axis abruptly, in some instances, change their course, and break away into cross valleys at a right angle to their former direction, is plausible. Rejecting, in the main, the view that the change of course is explained by the transverse streams cutting their way back, and thus tapping the valley, Sir John Lubbock suggests that the phenomenon is due to tectonic causes, and that in the process of cooling and contraction of the earth's crust the resulting formation of elevations and depressions took place in two directions at right angles to each other. The amount of folding might be much greater in one direction than the other, but presumably, if we correctly understand the author's view, in places might be equal. At such places the river might naturally bend along the line of depression formed at a right angle. The bending is not, therefore, properly speaking, a change of direction, and implies no sudden deviation from a former line. This view is of importance, for it implies that valleys are not due wholly to erosion, however much they may have been deepened and widened by the

destructive agency of water. The most notable examples of rivers so deviating are those of the Rhine, near Chur, and of the Rhone, at Martigny. In both cases the rivers turn northwards abruptly, after pursuing a straight course along the main diagonal trough of Switzerland, interrupted only by the boss of the Furka and Ober Alp, which forms the water parting interposed between the two river systems.

The Rhone, as is well pointed out, really runs at Martigny into the cross valley formerly occupied by the Dranse, whose bed it has annexed. It might be correct, therefore, on grounds of physical geography to consider that the Rhone ceased at Martigny. But annexation in the case of rivers, as sometimes happens also with nations, is but the prelude to extermination of the former occupier; and the ancient river, the river Dranse, is but a name now to the geographical archæologist.

As might have been expected, the author holds with Tyndall as to the part fracture and regelation plays in the movement of glaciers. At a time when the viscous theory seems again to be gaining adherents, the expression of opinion from so weighty an authority is important. But, after all, the viscous and regelation theories only account for the moulding of the glacier to its trough. The weight of ice acting as a *vis a tergo* is the determining factor of the movement. Such is the opinion of observers of the glaciers like De Saussure, Forbes, Tyndall, and Heim. Professor Heim goes so far as to express his belief that a mass of lead spread out like a glacier would behave in precisely the same way as ice.

Reference to Sir John Lubbock's book would be rendered easier, and the usefulness of the work would be much increased, by an index—an addition that, it is to be hoped, will be made in subsequent editions.

If we have dealt a little harshly with the works considered, and dwelt on their defects more than on their merits, it has been more to illustrate the difficulty of producing a satisfactory book on mountain travel than of merely disparaging the authors. To write a good book of travel is a task that demands really very special qualifications. Yet there is no branch of literature to which people wholly unsuited to write a book at all have contributed so much. The mere expansion of diary notes, supplemented by gleanings from collateral sources of information, and padded out by technical contributions from scientific experts, makes but a patchwork fabric, unfitted to stand the wear and tear of

perusal by any save the desultory reader. Such works may and do find a market, largely because the taste for collecting works on special subjects—of which mountain travel is for the moment a very prominent one—is widespread. A man of moderate means can with little trouble soon collect a very fair Alpine library. An Alpine department is to be found in the bookshelves alike of those who are interested in the pursuit as a sport and those who, affected to some extent by the book collector's craze, like to have a special department which can easily be made to attain respectable dimensions. So the books are supplied, and the actual quality is not too rigidly investigated. Few writers on travel possess the nice discrimination, sense of proportion and variety of literary method needful for conspicuous success. Thus, it comes about that their pages are flooded with a superabundance of detail. The petty discomforts and insignificant hardships incidental to travel which may serve as topics of conversation over the camp fire are not worth reproduction. The efficiency of the commissariat department, the incompetence of the native engaged to indicate a local track or carry a load, the excellence of the long deferred meal, all seem matters of profound importance at the time to the mountaineer; but they have no interest to the reader, and, indeed, would have none to the writer did he not perceive an opportunity of lightening his narrative by dilating, often at considerable length, on such topics. Too often the writer fills a great part of his book with incidents of the domestic life of the party, forgetful, apparently, of the country he is in. The personality of the author and his companions should everywhere make itself felt, or the thread of what should be a continuous narrative is lost, and the style becomes merely that of the guide-book, valuable to refer to, impossible to read. But the reader wants to know the effect produced by travel on the traveller's mind, not on his body. Far too many writers on travel—and conspicuously on mountain adventure and exploration—are prone to ignore altogether the class whom they should most study to keep in mind: those who are likely to follow their footsteps. Their works are more egoistic than they imagine. Again, descriptions of mountain climbs necessarily resemble one another, a drawback which is intensified when the expeditions of a party engaged in exploration of a new district form the subject of record. The same *dramatis personæ* step on to the stage with too uniform regularity, and the accessory characters appear too

constantly to be of the same type. Now, to avoid monotony and to impress the reader with a sense of constantly varying effects, such as are inevitably unfolded to the observant person in the mountains, requires literary skill of no mean order. Local colour has to be suggested by very unobtrusive touches. The writer must always be in sympathy with his environment; as keen to appreciate the snow mountain that closes in and gives the distinctive character to the landscape as viewed from the valley, as to admire the valley, with its suggestion of human interest, viewed through the soft distant haze from the mountain-top. He must be able to admire scenery from the point of view of the painter, the sculptor, and the physicist alike. Colour, gradation, form, modelling, should alike appeal to him. Then no valley walk can be merely a weary trudge, and the mountain will be something better than an exercise ground for the display of gymnastic skill. Meanwhile, his intelligence must ever be on the alert to note nature in its relation to man.

Difficult as it may seem to fulfil such exacting conditions, it seems to us that Mr. Douglas Freshfield has fully satisfied them in his fine work on the exploration of the Caucasus. No better book of travel has appeared for many years, and the volumes take at once a foremost, if not the first, place in records of mountain travel. No one was so well qualified to deal with the subject, for probably no one living has so intimate a knowledge of the mountain range that traverses the Caucasian provinces from the Black Sea to the Caspian. This is the Caucasus of the physical geographer. It is in this restricted sense that Mr. Freshfield deals with the exploration of the country; in the political sense, as he points out, the name covers all the Caucasian provinces lying roughly between Lat. 40° and 45°. Much has been written about the political Caucasus, and the country has been for long well mapped. But of the mountain chain, prior to the author's first journey in 1868,* very little indeed was known, and many of the statements made by accepted authorities were wildly inaccurate. For instance, in the 'Dictionary of Geography' (1860) it was remarked that 'the existence of glaciers is uncertain;' according to the new survey of the Russian Government the glacier area is over 600 square miles. The journey in 1868 undertaken with three skilled mountaineers as companions led first to

* The Central Caucasus and Bashan, by D. W. Freshfield. London, 1869. See also 'Edinburgh Review' for October, 1869.

the dissipation of such errors. The main mountaineering results were the first ascents of Elbruz and Kasbek and the crossing of the main chain by a formidable glacier pass at the eastern extremity of the central group. From the mountaineer's point of view Mr. Freshfield undoubtedly was the 'discoverer' of the Caucasus. But he is justly entitled to far more credit than attaches to one who has merely indicated a new playground. Previously to 1868 'nothing had been certainly or accurately ascertained as to 'the structure or characteristics of the central range, the 'extent of its snows, the height of its peaks, the character 'of its passes, the relation of its groups, or the peculiarities 'of their scenery.' Here was work that only travellers who were skilled mountaineers as well could successfully accomplish, and the task was rendered harder in that the region had not been simply ignored, but, worse still, had been inaccurately described by writers and cartographers alike.

Throughout his pages Mr. Freshfield claims that the travels of English climbers have been the principal means of promoting a better knowledge of the chain. This is the keynote of his pages. With the results of his own journeys and those who followed him, animated by the same spirit of exploration, before us we may readily agree with him that 'it is, or ought to be, obvious that a chain cannot be fully or 'scientifically described until its essential features above 'as well as below the snow-line have been discovered and 'examined.' The work is that of a man who is a traveller with a keen geographical instinct, but who never fails to reveal the spirit of the mountaineer; who can enjoy climbing and difficult exploration above the snow-line for its own sake, but is ever ready to gather to the full all the information that such special travel affords; and who seeks 'to 'promote genuine research by emphasising the necessary 'connexion between mountaineering and the physical 'investigation of great ranges.' This higher view of the possibilities of mountaineering is nowhere permitted to detract from the readable character of the book. The language and style of the work place it distinctly above any book on mountaineering published of late years, and we must go back to Mr. Leslie Stephen's 'Playground of 'Europe' to find its literary parallel.

Necessarily, political questions are excluded from a book of mountain exploration, and Caucasian travellers have judiciously refrained from expressing any opinions on

subjects which, while they must have been brought under their notice, lay without the scope of their main objective. But at a time when men's eyes are much directed to Eastern Europe, and when the future of Asia Minor occupies the attention of thoughtful people all over the world, this solid contribution to the physical geography of the Caucasus acquires an added interest, and may stimulate many to study a little more closely this strange country. After the Crimean war the boundary line between Europe and Asia was fixed along the watershed of the Caucasus range. Politically, if not geographically, the line has since then extended a good deal further south. About the centre of the chain a military road crosses the main chain by the Darial Pass. A second road lying not far west of the Darial traverses the chain by the Ardon Gorge. Nominally, it is possible to drive from Kutais to Vladikafkaz, but, as a matter of fact, the road is liable to constant damage, and long stretches are frequently broken up and the bridges washed away even in summer seasons when there has been no excessive rainfall. The organisation for the up-keep of this alternative road does not seem very satisfactory. To the west of these roads stretches out the long and lofty chain traversable only here and there by snow passes. Over some of these, under favourable conditions, animals can be forced, but even a Hannibal or Napoleon would hesitate to regard these routes as of possible military importance. On the east coast of the Black Sea a railway line has for long been in contemplation which would join up Batum with Novorossisk and thus place European Russia in direct railway communication with Tiflis on the south of the Caucasus. Quite lately the Odessa correspondent of the 'Times' wrote that a line joining Tiflis and Kars was either about to be commenced or just commencing. Russian railway schemes are apt to remain for a considerable time in this nascent state, but there can be little doubt that before long these projects will actually be realised. Command of the sea will afford adequate protection to the coast line along the Black Sea, and such a line, it is obvious to the merest amateur, must possess the highest strategical importance. Fully as important from the same point of view as increased facilities of communication is the gradual peaceful subjugation of the Caucasian mountain tribes. Thirty years ago when Mr. Freshfield and his party first visited some of the villages on the south side the lawlessness of the natives had to be reckoned with, and on one or two occasions cool-

ness and tact were needed on the part of the explorers to extricate themselves from uncomfortable surroundings. Now the traveller may go where he pleases unarmed, alone if he likes, in perfect safety, and has only himself to blame if he meets with any unpleasantness. Intercourse with the villagers is now, too, a much easier matter than it was when mountaineers first visited the Caucasus. In most places men can be found who have served in the Russian army, and who have materially widened their perceptions and improved their condition by so doing. The traveller of to-day reaps the advantage by finding with ease natives who can speak Russian, and who are ready to display a more active and intelligent sympathy with his objects. Travel is not so cheap, but it is more simple. All these points are fully brought out in Mr. Freshfield's work, and are none the less striking because they are not insisted on—indeed, are only unconsciously set forth. The contrast between the conditions of travel described in Mr. Freshfield's first book and his second is very remarkable; and if, as he contends, some of this improvement is due to English mountaineers, they have achieved a work of which all Alpine men may be proud.

Mountain explorers in the Caucasus have, fortunately, never forgotten what is too often lost sight of by frequenters of the Alps—namely, that they are really the guests of the people in whose country they are journeying. It is safe to say, and it is pleasant to think, that our countrymen have met with uniform courtesy and often with the most cordial aid from the Russian officials, and they may count now on a friendly welcome from the natives on the north as well as on the south side.

At the risk of appearing unduly lavish of praise, we may draw attention to the obvious pains the author has taken to give us of his best. This is no work in which the author has, as in so many books of travel, trusted orthography to a type-writer and punctuation to a compositor. Nor is it written in the too prevalent style of the journalist, which, however adapted to the requirements of the daily or weekly press, always seems jejune and superficial when served up in book form.

The map that accompanies the volumes is an excellent piece of work, and furnishes the most complete and reliable guide to the topography of the chain. The value of this compilation, founded on the hitherto published sheets of the new 1-verst survey, on the author's own observations,

on the photographs (few have utilised photographs as aids to map-making more successfully than Mr. Freshfield) of M. de Déchy, Signor Sella, Mr. Donkin, and others, can best be appreciated by those who have endeavoured to work under the guidance of the old 5-verst survey. In making the 5-verst map the Russian surveyors did not, unhappily, pursue the judicious course of leaving blank the regions which at the time may have seemed of no practical importance. They did not reckon with mountain explorers, and filled in in a sketchy and inaccurate manner the details of the high mountain districts. Their delineation of the glacier regions was a sore puzzle to the traveller, and led writers of such eminence as Réclus and Heim into serious error. Unfortunately, the errors for which the 5-verst map was responsible on certain points are hard to eradicate, having been copied from one to another. It is to be hoped that Mr. Freshfield's map and Signor Sella's photographs together will lead at last to a better understanding of the physical geography of the chain.

Full justice is done to the work of those who, like Dr. Radde, the Director of the Museum at Tiflis; M. Ernest Favre, the geologist; M. Jukoff and M. Bogdanoff, the Russian survey officers, who have been chiefly responsible for the new delineation of the Central Group; M. Legier, whose work on the flora is of high merit; and others who have contributed materially to our recent knowledge of the Caucasus.

The actual mountain exploration of the chain which forms the main subject of the volumes is, it should be remembered, very recent. Six years elapsed after Mr. Freshfield's first journey before an English mountaineering party again visited the country.* They ascended the western cone of Elbruz, some 120 feet higher than the eastern summit, crossed a glacier pass to the head of the Rion, and in particular drew attention to the magnificence of the Central Group. It is in this district that the most conspicuous successes were afterwards achieved. The first of the peaks of this group—Gestola—fell in 1886, and then in rapid succession the other giants were scaled. Prominent among the climbers and explorers of the central group was the late Mr. A. F. Mummery, whose remarkable feat of ascending Dykhtau by the rocks of the southern cliff has been described elsewhere,† Messrs. Hermann Woolley, J. G.

* See 'The Frosty Caucasus,' by F. Crauford Grove.

† 'My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus.' A. F. Mummery.

Cockin, and H. W. Holder, who severally contribute chapters to the second volume. Dykhtau for the present ranks as the highest point of the group, but Mr. Freshfield hints that the neighbouring snow peak of Shkara is not unlikely to be reinstated as the result of further survey. There is little difference between the heights of the two. It will thus be seen that there is no lack of matter of high mountaineering interest, which, in the case of Mr. Cockin's ascent of the northern peak of Ushba—the 'double Matter-'horn' of the Caucasus, and surely one of the most striking mountain forms in the world—almost verges on the sensational.

In the accounts Mr. Freshfield gives of his own climbs and passes, the purely mountaineering element is judiciously not made too conspicuous. The inevitable note of warning as to the risk attendant on all mountaineering, if practised recklessly and without due observance of the recognised rules, is sounded here and there; but the author rather assumes that the new playground will not attract the novice, and for such only is the reiteration of the counsel, so constantly given and so commonly disregarded, held necessary. Perhaps, prompted by a desire to see the work of exploration which has already progressed so far still more completely carried out, the author makes somewhat unduly light of difficulties overcome. It is evident, for instance, that the first traverse of the Salynan Pass leading from the Bezingi to the Shaour-tu Glacier and thence to Chegem was a rather risky expedition, owing to falling stones. The pass itself was of little value, and was merely undertaken to ascertain the topography of the Shaour-tu Glacier, which at the time had not attracted the attention of the surveyors. The mountaineers crossed at a high level the ridge intervening between two lateral valleys. A horse track which crosses the spur at a lower level would have led them more quickly to their destination. The expedition was, therefore, one at which the mountaineering purist might cavil, but it is quite evident from the account that, though considerable risk was run, it was not of a nature that could have been readily foreseen. Such difficulties are often inseparable from new expeditions in any mountain regions. The adventure serves to point the advice given by that admirable mountaineer the late Mr. A. W. Moore, and which Mr. Freshfield quotes with approval, of not attempting a new pass until you know what the other side is like. Enough has been said to show that for those who enjoy

stirring stories of mountain-adventure there is abundance of good reading in the volumes. The descriptions of the mountain-expeditions are not less attractive because they are written in a spirit more common in the earlier than in the later books. The reader is, as it were, invited to join the party, to share their hopes and fears, to participate in the true enjoyment that the genuine mountain-lover feels in every step of a long expedition, and not merely to witness the performance of others on a stage to which he is debarred from access, and where his chief function is to applaud on the fall of the curtain.

We can only afford space to quote briefly some examples of the skill with which Mr. Freshfield indicates the local colour, and thus indicates the strongly marked characteristics of the scenery in different parts of the chain. Of the general features of the view from the summits of one of the higher peaks an excellent picture is sketched:—

'The heaven overhead is of a deep gentian blue; the neighbouring snows are dazzlingly white; as the range recedes the peaks shine golden, until on the horizon the farthest crests and the thin streaks of cloud take a rich amber tint, shading off into faint sunrise pinks. A luminous opalescent, transparent haze spreads over the lowlands, softening, but hardly obscuring their features. About our solitary pinnacle all is still and silent, save for the lapping of the little waves of warm air that rise up to us from the valleys. . . . There is a vigour, an extravagance, one might say, in the mountain structure [of the Central Group] that may recall the Alps of Dauphiné.'

Or, again, in the description of a brief halt on a height above Karaul, facing directly the valley down which the great Dykhsu ice-stream sweeps in majestic curves that irresistibly suggest at once the deliberate movement and power of a glacier:—

'The river flashed into life from the icy cave at our feet. Wherever we looked our retreat was fenced off from the world by snowy walls and towers of primeval rock. The delicately iced air was fragrant with the scent of the fading blossoms of the highest azaleas, the lights and shadows played softly on the faces of the great peaks as the afternoon vapours from Suanetia streamed up across the cliffs of Shkara.'

At the risk of appearing unduly to pile up excerpts, we cannot refrain from quoting a characteristic passage which shows the author well in his triple *rôle* of lover of scenery, geographer, and practical mountaineer. A mountain ramble above Ushkul in Suanetia led him

'to a lovely meadow, the nearest to the snows of an army of green hills, unbroken by copse or wood, except here and there by a slender

birch or a tangle of the cream rhododendron. The surface was one sea of flowers, pink and white daisies, gentians, forget-me-nots, and waving grasses.'

Here two stone-men were found.

'Could they be the work of the Russian surveyors? Hardly, for at that time the new map was only in contemplation in this district, and it would be an insult to the maker of the 5-verst map to suppose that if he had really visited the ground he would have misrepresented it as he has. . . . The view is unsurpassable of its kind. The source of the Ingur lies below; the spectator stands on a level with the snow-basin out of which rise the great rock-walls and buttresses that support the five peaks of Shkara. They carry snow and ice to an extent hardly ever seen in the Alps. This richness of frozen hangings is a joy to the traveller, but a terror to the climber. To the right stretches the long and formidable crest, reached from this side by an Alpine party in 1893, and in 1895 from the Dykhsu basin, which extends to Nuamquam.'

The most dramatic chapter in the book deals with the search made in 1889 to ascertain the fate of Messrs. Donkin and Fox, who, with two Swiss guides, were lost on Koshtantau (then called Dykhtau) in the previous year. The story forms rather painful reading, but it was perhaps worth reproducing, and the narrative could certainly not have been told in a more simple manner or in better taste. The disaster aroused widespread interest at the time, and many who possibly credited the first wild rumours may not have seen the formal accounts of the search read before the Alpine Club and the Royal Geographical Society, and published in their organs.* When it first became known in September 1888 that the travellers had mysteriously disappeared, conjectures not unnaturally took the form of suspecting foul play. Unfortunately, these views were more or less adopted by Russian officials. The result was that a burden of suspicion was cast on the natives. The search expedition had therefore the twofold object of ascertaining the exact fate of the lost mountaineers and of exonerating the natives. These objects were very fully attained. The evidence of the nature of the disaster though—happily—only circumstantial, was very clear, and to the mind of anyone acquainted with mountains and mountain travelling absolutely convincing. It is satisfactory to learn that the mountain dwellers in the district fully appreciated the motives that had prompted the search, and recognised the service that had

* Alpine Journal, February 1890.

been done to them in removing a most undeserved reproach from their name.

Mountaineers who read the account will not fail to be impressed with a lesson which still needs to be driven home —namely, the value of making a preliminary reconnaissance from the height of a peak it is proposed to attack and the danger of omitting any such survey. Had the lost party, composed as it was of highly skilled and careful mountaineers, had an opportunity of seeing their peak from a suitable point of view, they would almost certainly have adopted the line of ascent afterwards successfully taken by Mr. Woolley: and had not the search-party been in possession of the information gained by Mr. Freshfield from a height above Karaul a day or two before the bivouac was actually found, they could scarcely have climbed straight, at the first attempt, to the point they wished to reach. Seldom has mountaineering experience been used to better purpose, and it is noteworthy that in this instance the plan of operations was in no degree the work of the Swiss guides who accompanied the party. We have left ourselves no space to speak of M. de Déchy's contribution on the Sources of the Kuban, or of Mr. Freshfield's remarkable journey through the forests of Abkhasia from Suanetia to Sukhum Kaleh on the Black Sea. The latter expedition made no demands on the mountaineering skill of the travellers, but led them through a practically new line of country. The journey was boldly planned, and carried out with much determination. The chapter contains also some useful hints to climbers in the Caucasus generally. Whether Mr. Freshfield's book will stimulate climbers to carry on the work of exploring the mountain chain remains to be seen. The volumes do not profess to be a complete monograph. They aim only at summarising the information hitherto amassed, dwelling especially on the part that mountain-climbers have taken in the exploration of the region. The number of these from first to last does not exceed thirty. There is plenty left to be done by a new generation of Caucasian explorers. With the exception, perhaps, of the Central Group, no part of the chain has been worked out with anything approaching to the minuteness familiar to those who take their pleasure in Switzerland, Dauphiné, the Dolomites, or the Tyrol. To those accustomed to the Mid-European Alps it may seem a far cry to the Caucasus. No one who visits the country is likely to grudge the time necessary to reach it. The reward will be ample. North or south, east or west, the climbing-

traveller will find beauties of scenery, to the best of which mountaineering experience forms a ready pass. Mr. Freshfield paints the attractions at times in glowing colours, but none who have seen the country will deny that the pictures are as faithful as they are graphic. The exhortations will, we hope, not fall on barren soil. The work so well begun, and so ably carried out as far as it has gone, must not languish. Let the peak-climber reflect that there are between fifty and sixty heights in the chain over 14,000 ft., that no one of them probably is inaccessible to modern mountaineers, and that a comparatively small proportion has hitherto been ascended; while passes—accepting the present-day acceptance of that term—innumerable remain to be made. It remains only to be shown that the superior skill of the mountaineers of to-day has not ousted the grit and enterprise of the forefathers of the craft.

Modern Alpine books are all profusely illustrated—to an extent, indeed, which almost suggests a desire to thrust the text into the background. Contrasted with the illustrations that appeared in the early volumes of Alpine literature, there is of course a very marked improvement shown in depicting realities. In works like those of Scheuchzer,* dedicated 'perillustri Societati Regiæ Anglicæ,' at a time when Sir Isaac Newton was President, many of the drawings are simply grotesque. The time has gone by for a book illustration purporting to represent the Val de Sennes and the Martinsloch to depict a series of jagged pinnacles of imaginary form, most of which are crowned with the conventional chamois or steinbock. But such pictorial oddities should not blind us to the merits of an author like Scheuchzer, who was not only a pioneer but an able and faithful recorder according to his lights of what he observed. In De Saussure's volumes† illustrations scarcely less like the reality are to be found. Witness, for instance, the large engraving in the second volume of De Saussure showing the profile of Mont Blanc as seen from the Val de Ferret, or the view of the Brenva Glacier in the same volume founded on a drawing by M. Jallabert. Likely enough, however, these drawings executed in the conventional style of the day satisfied the authors as fairly correct representations. Yet such engravings contrast

* 'Οὐρεσιφοίτης Helveticus, *sive* Itinera per Helvetiæ Alpinas regiones.' J. J. Scheuchzer, 1723.

† 'Voyages dans les Alpes.' H. B. de Saussure, 1779.

strangely with a drawing so admirably faithful as that of the 'Plan des Aiguilles' seen from the north side of the valley of Chamonix in the same volume. It is certain that a man of science like De Saussure would have avoided anything like sensationalism; and, indeed, the pictures are much more than curious, and to modern eyes grotesque. The mountains exercised a fascination over these pioneers which is not likely ever to be felt again. The traveller who first scales Mount Everest will not experience quite the same thrill as Jacques Balmat when he first reached the summit of Mont Blanc. So the illustrations ought rather to be looked upon as some sort of a guide to the impression that the leaders in mountain climbing experienced.

In the early part of this century most of the volumes of mountain literature published dealt with special ascents of Mont Blanc. Here a personal element began to come in, and the illustrations, generally from the authors' drawings, were mere burlesques.* Perhaps the climax of absurdity was reached in the illustrations which did duty in Albert Smith's narrative of his ascent. These, however, were merely designed to attract the public, and probably no one was more aware than the lively author of the utter absurdity and unreality of his diagrams. In the first volume of 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' published at the time when mountaineering was beginning to develop apace, an endeavour was made to illustrate the pages by something better than mere fanciful sketches. Chromo-lithography was largely employed, and photography began to be called in to assist. Where the artist alone had to be depended on the results still were rather curious—e.g. the coloured drawing of the upper part of the Schwarze Glacier, illustrating a paper of Mr. John Ball's on Zermatt in 1845. It is curious that so able a geologist, and one possessed of such intimate knowledge of the snow and ice world, should have been satisfied with such a drawing.

A great improvement in illustrations began with the second volume of 'Peaks and Passes,' for it was then that Mr. Whymper's work first made its appearance. Nearly all the drawings were engraved under his personal superintendence, and some reach a point of excellence which is

* Witness, for instance, the 'Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc,' by John Auldjo, 1828, or 'Der Mont Blanc, Darstellung der Besteigung desselben am 31. Juli u. 2. August 1859.' Geneva, 1864.

surpassed only by Mr. Whymper himself in his 'Scrambles 'amongst the Alps' and has really never been attained since. It is questionable whether any book has ever been better illustrated than the volume alluded to. The combination of qualities that the writer possessed of a skilled mountaineer with a real knowledge of the mountains and an admirable artist and superlative wood-engraver is not one likely to be often met with, and in addition he was illustrating his own writings. Illustrations to the more recent work by the same author on 'The Great Andes of the Equator,' though they do not reach quite the same level as in his former work, are still far in advance of anything that has been accomplished in mountain literature. Wood-engraving, however, seems destined to die, and the over-production of illustrations now held to be necessary by the publishers is likely to be fatal to its revival in mountain literature. A new class of artist came to the fore skilled in black-and-white work and willing to draw for the workers in process blocks, though this method seldom, if ever, succeeded in doing the artist even the scantiest justice. Photography was more and more called upon, ostensibly to aid, but really to undermine and ruin the work of the book illustrator. It is lamentable to find that in a modern book, well got up from the publishers' point of view, the photographer is allowed to take the first place and the artist as a rule to frankly take the second. In Mr. FitzGerald's and Sir Martin Conway's books black-and-white drawings appear which are nothing more than replicas of photographs. It is difficult indeed to see what is gained by employing accomplished black-and-white artists to copy and do nothing more than copy, as far as the brush can do it, an ordinary photograph; and it appears a little degrading to Art. It may be legitimate we suppose, though we make the admission with reluctance, to found drawings on photographs and, to ensure accuracy of detail, it may even be necessary under the exigencies of mountain travel to refer to the productions of the camera. But even a bad photograph will form a better illustration than drawings in which the artist has allowed his personality to be wholly eliminated and has permitted himself to be merely an intermediary between the photographer and the process-block maker. In this modern style of book illustration foreign publications show, as might be expected, a distinct superiority over works issued in this country. The reproductions are of a higher class and the artists consequently have found more inducement to take trouble in their work. Some of the best illustrations

of recent Alpine works published abroad, it is satisfactory to know, have been the work of an English artist, Mr. E. T. Compton. Many of the drawings furnished by him to the late Dr. Zsigmondy's book * are very admirable, and it must be admitted that, in respect of getting atmosphere and the sense of space into the landscapes, they are at times an improvement on even the best of the wood-engravings.

But in many of these drawings the same baneful influence of photography makes itself felt, and the artist too often contents himself with employing conventional means to heighten the effect he wishes to produce; such, for instance, as the introduction of fanciful foregrounds into well-known scenes. So difficult is it now to escape from the tyranny of the process-block maker and to obtain illustrations which do not suggest that Art is subordinated to photography, that Mr. Freshfield boldly took a new departure in his work on the Caucasus and sought the aid of the photographer alone as his illustrator. He argues that 'if the work is a book of travel and if its 'aim is to present an adequate and accurate picture of a new 'country, there can be but little doubt that the photographer 'supplies the better material. The sun records with precision 'far more facts than any artist can, and its rays have no 'personal idiosyncrasies.' Mr. Freshfield hints that 'to pages 'so prosaic as his' photographic illustrations form the best pictorial accompaniment. To this few who have read the book will accede. The aim and object was to reveal as far as possible by writing and illustration the mountainous district of a country which is little known. Signor Sella is admittedly the most successful of all Alpine photographers. But more than this, he has travelled widely and climbed much and has the mountain feeling as strongly as Mr. Freshfield himself. Author and illustrator were never more happily associated, and undoubtedly, from the geographical point of view, the value of having illustrations of which the actuality and accuracy cannot be questioned is very great.

* Im Hochgebirge. Dr. Emil Zsigmondy. Leipzig, 1889.

ART. III.—1. *Autobiography of Sir George Biddell Airy, K.C.B.* Edited by WILFRED AIRY, B.A. Cambridge: 1896.

2. *The Scientific Papers of John Couch Adams, F.R.S.* Vol. I. Edited by WILLIAM GRYLLS ADAMS, F.R.S. With a Memoir by J. W. L. GLAISHER, F.R.S. Cambridge: 1896.

WITHIN nineteen days of each other, in January, 1892, the two greatest English mathematical astronomers except Newton passed off the sublunary stage. Sprung from the same vigorous yeoman class, they started along the same line of brilliant academical distinction; yet their eventual careers were as different as their characters. Adams moved on the higher plane of thought and feeling; his life was a tissue of magnanimities. But they were of the silent and unobtrusive kind which make no scenic display; and he meditated and calculated in a retirement from the notice of the crowd as complete as if he dwelt with Arthur in the Vale of Avalon. Airy, on the contrary, stood out before the world as a stirring official—an official stern and unbending in discipline, rigid in duty, heedless of amenities. He showed to the public, so to speak, nothing but rocky foreground; the verdant nooks in his composition were not insisted upon in the picture which he presented. With Adams he came into contact but once, and then disastrously for the younger aspirant. The incident is now more than half a century old. It is, however, one which 'time cannot stale;' and it has been brought into renewed prominence, no less by the celebration, last year, of the 'Neptune Jubilee,' than by the almost simultaneous publication of the two works named at the head of this article.

Unfortunately, neither of them is, from a biographical point of view, wholly satisfactory. Dr. Glaisher's 'Memoir' is excellent for its purpose, which is that of supplying a prefatory notice to Adams's works. It is, accordingly, concerned rather with the mathematician than with the man, although we often find the man in the mathematician. In the 'Autobiography of Sir George Airy,' however, a volume of four hundred pages is expressly devoted to the delineation of a single personality, and a strong conception of that personality can undoubtedly be gathered from it by laboriously disengaging the vital features from the mass of *débris*

in which they are embedded. The record that Airy chose to leave behind was one of facts, not of emotions or impressions. The elaboration of a method for classifying documents, a change in the form of the Observatory estimates, the rating of a clock, the dropping of a time-ball, bulk as large in his annual jottings as investigations of lasting importance. The entries on all subjects are, with the rarest exceptions, equally cool and curt. In the presentation of his life's work there is a total absence of the artistic sense of proportion. Yet, to be commonly intelligible, every biography, whatever form it may take, must be in a measure artistic. Selection and sympathy must have been exercised in its construction. A catalogue of heterogeneous items leaves the mind a blank. It provokes the criticism passed upon Johnson's Dictionary by a Scotch idiot, who, after reading it attentively from cover to cover, declared it to be 'a varra 'disconnected wark.'

Not that this sagacious verdict applies without qualification to the present volume. For the hero of it imparts, although in the hard and nipping style which he affected, or which alone was at his command, a reasonably full and coherent account of his early life. In reading it we are continually struck with the courage, self-reliance, and industry employed to array for successive victories his irresistible mental forces, and thus secure, with room for their continued exercise, a settled position in the world. By degrees, however, the autobiographical stratum thins out, and gives place to a compact documentary formation. Extracts from the Annual Reports to the Visitors of the Royal Observatory fill page after page, scantily diversified with the dates of customary excursions. Readers have, in short, to make their way as best they can through nearly fifty years of *Fasti Grenovicenses*. We cannot but regret that the editor, Mr. Wilfred Airy, did not trust more to his own literary resources. He can write agreeably and to the point. His 'Personal Sketch' of his father shows a considerable faculty of appreciation. His account of the last, 'superfluous' decade is touched with a sympathetic sense of the pathos that surrounds old age. But his modesty has forbidden him to speak except where silence was impossible. Ample materials were in his hands for a narrative, comprehensive yet succinct, of Airy's life, personal and official. They were not, however, of the kind to be printed *literatim*. Their true meaning needed to be drawn out and underlined. The regulation-drone, in which the

members of the Board were now informed of the erection of a pigeon-house for chronometers, now of the crash of a counterpoise, or the foundation of a shed—again, of the creation of a new department, or the inception of an irrevocable change—should not have been allowed to reach the ear of the general public. It is true that these arid statements are not wholly devoid of animated passages, in which their author displays innate vigour and sound judgement; but they are barely discoverable in the uninviting context of business details. Thus, the essential peculiarity of Airy's career—the manner in which unswerving fidelity to tradition was combined in it with obedience to novel tendencies—has failed to obtain its due prominence.

George Biddell Airy came of a long line of Lincolnshire farmers; but his father, William Airy, cut the agricultural connexion, and entered the Excise. He married Anne Biddell, daughter of a Suffolk farmer, and was appointed, in succession, to Collections in various parts of England. So it came about that his eldest son was born at Alnwick, June 27, 1801. The boy was of a steady, serious turn, subject to no aberrations through exuberance of animal spirits; and while content to remain 'nowhere' in the playground, came well to the front in the class-room at Colchester, where his formal education was begun. His talent for constructing peashooters and other detrimental appliances doubtless won for him the esteem of his youthful associates, although his continual application alienated their attachment; for his impeccability in spelling, arithmetic, and geography spoiled the market, as it were, for produce of inferior quality. He imbibed knowledge everywhere, and through every conduit that he could tap. At home, he found in an old cyclopædia a mine of information; in the intervals of his lessons he picked up snatches of old songs and ballads, learned by heart a surprising quantity of standard English poetry, and forgot nothing.

His first friend was his uncle, Arthur Biddell, a kindly and able man, prospering in business connected with land at Playford, near Colchester. 'I cannot express how much 'I owed to him,' Airy wrote on his death in 1860. His influence was decisive over the destiny of his nephew, who managed, in and out of vacation times, to spend half the year at Playford. His education progressed there rapidly. He devoured the books in Biddell's library, studied mathematics with a private tutor whom he quickly outstripped,

and got trained into a respectable classical scholar at the Colchester Grammar School.

'I distinguished myself,' Airy wrote afterwards, 'particularly by my memory. It was the custom for each boy once a week to repeat a number of lines of Latin or Greek poetry, the number depending very much on his own choice. I determined on repeating one hundred every week, and I never once fell below that number, and was sometimes much above it. It was no distress to me, and great enjoyment. At Michaelmas 1814, I repeated 2,394 lines, probably without missing a word.'

From a celestial globe bought for him in London by his father, he gained acquaintance with 'the birth-stars of his 'astronomical knowledge.' He made paper models of geometrical solids, of batteries, and entrenchments; learned accurately the properties of lenses—'one of the most 'charming attainments that I ever reached;' and once enjoyed 'the extreme felicity' of examining the interior parts of a sliding-valve steam-engine opened for cleaning.

Thomas Clarkson, the abolitionist, came to reside at Playford Hall about 1814. He had business relations with Arthur Biddell, and was struck with the uncommon abilities of young Airy. He had him examined, and by his strong advice he was sent to Cambridge, and entered as a sizar at Trinity College in October 1819. His reputation had preceded him; Peacock, Sedgwick, and Musgrave (the future Archbishop of York) patronised him, and 'I was soon 'known by sight,' he tells us, 'to almost everybody in the 'University.' His college career exemplifies remarkably the granite firmness of his mind. He had his way to make, and was in dogged earnest about making it. At the end of his third term he attained the primary object of his ambition—pecuniary independence. No obstacles were allowed to stand in his way. He lost nothing by omitting to ask for it, and his requests, being recommended by blameless conduct and rare talents, were usually granted. If not, he waited, nowise discomfited, and asked again. To himself he was a rigid law. He ate and slept, he read, walked, and lounged, according to the measure meted out by his own cast-iron resolve. Nothing was left to impulse or irrational caprice. He was as methodical before he was twenty as after he was forty, when he devoted an afternoon to labelling empty barrels at the Royal Observatory. And whatever he did, he did *carefully*—a word of perpetual recurrence in his journal. He counted no precaution insignificant where success was at stake. About the result

of his first trial of strength in the classes, he allows that he was 'anxious, but only in such a degree as to make my 'conduct perfectly steady, and to prevent me from making 'any extraordinary exertion.' He headed the list, although mathematics held a subordinate place in the examination, and Field, Romilly, Drinkwater, Bethune, Tate, and Strutt were among the competitors.

Nothing now stood in Airy's way. He was the giant of what was called an 'impudent year.' As a foregone conclusion, he came out, in January 1823, Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, the brilliancy of his answering becoming a long-lived undergraduate tradition. He had taken a scholarship in 1822, and was elected a Fellow of his college on the same day with Macaulay, October 1, 1824. A trip to Scotland with his only sister in May 1823 'opened a completely new world to' him. He had never before crossed a country divided by stone walls into fields; he had never seen rocks *in situ*, clouds clinging to hill-sides, or snow capping the summits of mountains. Above all an excursion in a steamboat on the Clyde afforded him his first experience of modern modes of travel.

A walking tour in Derbyshire in 1824 was otherwise memorable. He had an introduction to the Rev. Richard Smith, ex-Fellow of Trinity College, Rector of Edensor, and father of seven daughters, the eldest of whom was commonly said to have been pronounced by the Duke of Devonshire 'the most beautiful girl he had ever seen.' 'Good wine needs no bush;' yet a ducal encomium must be allowed to count for something, and, whether prepossessed by it or not, Airy fell in love, and, with characteristic promptitude and decision, offered himself, after two days, in his actual impecunious condition, to the fair Richarda. Encouraged by a benign refusal, he came away, determined to win the lady, were it by a Jacob's service. It was then that 'the cares of life began to press him 'heavily.' He was totally at sea about his future. A letter asking Mr. Clarkson's advice on the subject of a profession elicited a reply which, its kindness notwithstanding, 'amounted to nothing.' A conversation with Peacock proved equally unsuggestive. But no stress of circumstances weakened the fibre of Airy's pluck. He held out indomitably for a great career. He would not enter a *cul. de sac.* He could, for instance, assuredly have had for the asking a high-class assistantship at Greenwich; and he repaired to London to make inquiries, as well as, incidentally,

'to be present at one of Sir Humphry Davy's Saturday even-
'ing soirées.' 'But when I found,' he adds, 'that succes-
'sion to the post of Astronomer Royal was not considered as
'distinctly a consequence of it, I took it coolly, and returned
'the next night. The whole proposal came to nothing.' He was, however, elected to the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics December 7, 1826, and, seated in Newton's chair, thus reviewed the situation:

'The commencement of 1827 found me in a better position than I had before stood in; yet it was far from satisfactory. I had resigned my Assistant Tutorship of 150*l.* per annum, and gained only the Lucasian Professorship of 99*l.* per annum. I had a great aversion to entering the Church, and my lay Fellowship would expire in seven years. My prospects in the law or other professions might have been good if I could have waited, but then I must have been in a state of starvation probably for many years, and marriage would have been out of the question. I much preferred a moderate income in no long time, and I am sure that in this I judged rightly for my happiness. I had now in some measure taken science as my line (though not irrevocably), and I thought it best to work it well, for a time at least, and wait for accidents.'

Before the close of that year he at length 'saw his way 'clearly.' On the news reaching him that Dr. Woodhouse, the Plumian Professor of Astronomy, was *in extremis*,

'Instantly,' he records, 'there passed through my mind the certainty of my succeeding him; the good position in which I stood towards the University, the probability of that position being improved by improved lectures &c., and the power of commanding an increase of income by increased reputation from the matters in which I was then engaged. I should then have, independently of my Fellowship, some competent income, and a house over my head.'

The vision was realised; he was elected unopposed, and instantly demanded an increased salary. 'The Univer-
'sity,' he wrote, 'had never before been taken by storm
'in such a manner, and there was some commotion about
'it. I believe that very few persons would have taken the
'same step. Mr. Sheepshanks wrote to me intimating
'that it was desperate. I had no doubt of success.' His confidence was justified. He got his 500*l.* a year, and everything else that he wanted. *Audaces juvat Fortuna.* Meanwhile his assiduous suit to Richarda Smith had been quietly prospering, and in the spring of 1830 he brought his bride to Observatory House. She was then five and twenty, but looked much younger. 'Her beauty and ac-
'complishments, her skill and fidelity in sketching, and,

'above all, her exquisite singing of ballads, made a great 'sensation in Cambridge.' Mrs. Airy did not need to be set off by marital partiality. Her sweet and gracious nature rendered her attractive long after her girlish charms had faded. Airy made her a devoted husband during five and forty years. His family affections were strong. The loss in their youth of the three eldest of his nine children wrung his strong heart. He brought his mother and sister to live with him at the Royal Observatory, and eagerly exerted his influence for the promotion of his brother's interests in the Church.

The Plumian Professor was now thoroughly committed to astronomy. He was a master but no devotee of the science. His unimaginative way of contemplating the heavens as—let us say—a grand expanse of spherical triangles, chilled Sir William Rowan Hamilton, who was a poet as well as a mathematician, to the bone. Yet his prosaic industry went further than his Irish friend's bardic fervour. Airy was not indeed without some modified intellectual enthusiasms. From his boyhood he regarded the theory of gravitational disturbance as a promised land, flowing, in lieu of milk and honey, with integrals and differential equations. And this taste remained with him to the end. His administration of the Cambridge Observatory brought him merited distinction. He introduced the valuable custom of thoroughly 'reducing' before publishing observations, which are thus presented to investigators fit for immediate use. Their accumulation in the rough state has too often proved utterly useless. The equipment of the institution, furnished only with a transit when he took it in charge, bore the marks of his inventive skill; and the mounting of the 'great Northumberland equatoreal' was both devised and superintended by him. This fine instrument of twelve inches aperture, the gift of the third Duke of Northumberland, was employed by Professor Challis in his luckless search for the planet Neptune. But that circumstance belongs to another series of events.

Airy was by this time also eminent as an author and investigator. His 'Mathematical Tracts,' published in 1826, immediately became a text-book in the University; his treatises on the 'Undulatory Theory of Light,' on 'The 'Figure of the Earth,' and on 'Gravitation' were, and are, acknowledged masterpieces; his detection of the 'Long 'Inequality of Venus and the Earth,' communicated to the Royal Society November 24, 1831, gave the perfecting

touch to solar theory. The discrepancy, for the rectification of which a long process of inquiry had been carried through with infinite pains, amounted to just one-fifth of a second of time.

On June 22, 1835, Airy was appointed to succeed Mr. Pond as Astronomer Royal. His tenure of the office lasted forty-six years. It was in many ways memorable. By principle he was strongly conservative. He expressed again and again his determination not to be diverted 'from 'a steady adherence to the meridional system which both 'reason and tradition have engrafted on this Observatory.' Again: 'Our line of conduct is sufficiently well traced. 'There can be no doubt that our primary objects ought to 'be the accurate determination of places of the fundamental 'stars, the sun, the planets, and, above all, the moon. Any 'addition whatever to our powers or our instrumental 'luxuries which should tend to withdraw our energies 'from these objects would be a misfortune to the Observa-'tory.' Charles II. had committed to Flamsteed the task of watching the skies in the interests of his seamen; and this continued to be the 'standard and staple work' of Flamsteed's successors.

George Biddell Airy, however, could not belong to a 'stupid party.' He was not one to ruin a cause for the sake of a flag. While he protested, accordingly, his mind was moving. In 1838 a Magnetic and Meteorological Department was created at Greenwich, automatic registration by photography being introduced in 1850. From 1854 transits were timed by electricity. In 1859 a new thirteen-inch equatoreal was ready for use. Its erection had cost him some misgivings lest any neglect should ensue of the Observatory's 'ancient and traditional responsibilities.' A 'prismatic spectrum-apparatus' was added in 1868; the spectroscopic delineation at the edge of the uneclipsed sun of the gaseous objects called 'prominences' began to be attended to in 1874; about the same time the daily photographic record of sun-spots was set on foot; the establishment, in short, 'became, *pro tanto*, a physical observatory.'

In carrying out these innovations, Airy was the agent of a far-reaching scientific revolution. Had he been a lesser man, he might have obstinately resisted it; had he been a greater man, he might have personified and intensified it. He adopted instead the proper official attitude; he yielded, but did not originate. Considering his early prepossessions and the native tenacity of his mind, we can only

feel surprised that he embarked in so many novel enterprises, and went so far along untrodden paths.

For sustained and diversified energy his administration must long remain unmatched. The reduction of all the planetary and lunar observations made at Greenwich between 1750 and 1830, for which he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1846, was in itself a colossal performance; from the mass of materials provided by it modern theories of celestial motions have been in great measure constructed. He set the first example of observing the moon off the meridian, thus obtaining a more exact acquaintance with the minute vagaries of our satellite than had been possible when she was obliged to report herself only at the moments of culmination. He had an altitude-and-azimuth instrument constructed in 1847 for this special purpose, with improvements of his own devising. In 1851 a new transit-circle, of great optical power and enormous mechanical stability, superseded Troughton's masterpiece of 1812. In its construction Airy's demands strained to the uttermost the resources of workmanship. He would tolerate no error amounting to $\frac{1}{30,000}$ of an inch in the cylindrical figure of the chilled iron pivots. After many failures, sheer hand-friction was resorted to, every metallic grain and film being in this way slowly and painfully removed. 'Each of the pivots cost six 'weeks of such labour.'* The makers were Ransome & May, of Ipswich.

The Royal Observatory became, under Airy's rule, an admirably planned machine kept going by his untiring energy. The human element seemed almost eliminated. Method ruled supreme. Each member of the staff daily received written instructions, from which no hairbreadth deviation was permitted. The chief himself was subjugated by his own system. He was enslaved by his passion for order. Its bonds, however, pressed upon him only in his decrepitude. In the time of his vigour he wore them complacently, taking particular delight in his devices for banishing confusion from his vast store of records and papers. He is not known to have ever destroyed a document, were it only an invitation to dinner. Hence, consummate ingenuity was required to avert the periodical 'snowings-up' experienced by De Quincey.

His industry was appalling. The volume before us is a

* The Observatory, vol. xv. p. 85.

record all but incredible of miscellaneous labours. Successive governments exploited without mercy his marvellous capabilities. He was their universal referee, not merely on scientific matters, but on every conceivable topic with a practical bearing. Having 'hired' for astronomy, he had thrust upon him jobs by comparison sordid, and productive neither of fame nor of pelf. Yet he did them with alacrity, and so thoroughly as to give finality to the settlement of many difficult questions. He presided over Royal Commissions, drew up exhaustive reports, settled the provisions of Bills. By devising a successful method for the correction of compasses in iron ships, he rendered, at an untold cost of time and pains, a great public service, for which the Admiralty refused him any acknowledgement or reward. He was deeply concerned with the construction of the new standards of weight and measure, with the delimitation of Canada and the United States, with surveying operations in Europe and Africa, with tidal investigations in India, with the improvement of lighthouses in Great Britain. He was consulted about Babbage's calculating machine, about the chimes of Westminster Clock, about the smoky chimneys of Westminster Palace. The business of the Railway Gauge Commission all but shattered his steel-strong nerves. Yet it sank into insignificance compared with that involved in the organisation of the Transit of Venus expedition of 1874. 'Only those engaged in the enterprise,' Mr. Dunkin affirmed, 'can have any adequate conception of its require-
'ments.'

Nor was Airy indifferent to the claims of the general public. He regarded it as part of his duty to popularise science by lectures and journalistic communications. They were always impressive. In spite of a weak voice and a hesitating delivery, the clearness of his expositions and the striking nature of his themes held his audiences enthralled. He carried on, too, many controversies, and found them enlivening exercises; and his prodigious correspondence was conducted personally and punctually.

Severe toil did not blunt his faculty of enjoyment, and he took ample holidays with zest and regularity. From the Superga, near Turin, July 8, 1842, he viewed the remarkable eclipse which startled astronomers into persistent investigation of the solar appendages. A similar spectacle was disclosed to him at Gothenburg, July 31, 1851; then, nine years later, the Admiralty placed the 'Himalaya' at his command for the transportation to the coast of Spain of an

eclipse-party, comprising sixty members of several nationalities. Airy set up his instruments at Bilbao, but was ill-satisfied with the way he played his part. The only results, indeed, worth mentioning, were obtained photographically by De la Rue and Secchi.

The Astronomer Royal was knighted in 1872, having on two previous occasions declined the compliment. Academies and Universities vied with each other in honouring him, but although he valued he did not seek these distinctions. His heart was in his work. A career of uniform success ended nevertheless with a conspicuous and pathetic failure. At threescore and ten his thoughts turned once more towards the desired land of his youth. Still overwhelmed with public duties, he ceased to be wholly absorbed in them. He looked beyond for an enterprise that should bring into play all his mental resources. He found it, after prolonged meditation, in the construction of a numerical lunar theory, numbers replacing symbols throughout the work, which was one of immense scope and complexity. The final test of its correctness consisted in the introduction into the fundamental equations of the appropriate numerical values. Its application proved calamitous. 'With painful alarm,' the old man wrote in 1886, 'I find that the equations are not 'satisfied, and that the discordance is large.' Errors had slipped in, as errors do, through unaccountable oversights, and the labour of detecting and correcting them would have been enormous, and turned out to be impracticable. At the age of eighty-eight, the author finally desisted from attempts which no one else has been intrepid enough to renew.

Neither weakness nor incapacity, but absorption in this gigantic task, led to Sir George Airy's resignation, August 15, 1881. Thenceforward he lived with his two unmarried daughters at the White House, within a quarter of a mile from the scene of his multitudinous labours. 'He entered 'upon his new life,' Mr. Wilfred Airy relates, 'with the 'cheerful composure and steadiness of temper which he possessed in a remarkable degree. He was now more than 'eighty years old, and the cares of office had begun to weigh 'heavily upon him; the long-continued drag of the Transit 'of Venus work had wearied him, and he was anxious to 'carry on, and, if possible, complete his Numerical Lunar 'Theory, the great work which for some years had occupied 'much of his time and attention. His mental powers were 'still vigorous, and his energy but little impaired; his 'strong constitution, his regular habits of life, the syste-

'matic relief which he obtained by short holiday expeditions 'whenever he found himself worn with work, and his keen 'interest in history, poetry, classics, antiquities, engineering, 'and other subjects not immediately connected with his 'profession, had combined to produce this result. And, 'in leaving office, he had no idea of leaving off work; his 'resignation merely meant for him a change of work.'

His death resulted from a fall, occasioned by a momentary lapse in the action of the brain. A surgical operation became necessary; it was successful, and he recovered from its immediate effects. 'For several days he lay quietly and 'without active pain, reciting the English poetry with which 'his memory was stored. But the shock was too great for 'his enfeebled constitution, and he died peacefully, in the 'presence of his six surviving children, on January 2, 1892.' He was in his ninety-second year.

A strenuous and virile existence closed on that day. Few men have used their powers so fitly and so entirely. They were turned to the fullest account, yet commanded with Hellenic sobriety. His great faculties were not allowed to ride roughshod over his life. Work and recreation alternated in strictly regulated proportions. Even when actually treading the furrow of labour, he took things quietly, and generally managed to break right off at the first symptoms of distress. Under these circumstances the massiveness of his performance almost baffles comprehension. It implies an extraordinary quickness and agility of mental action. His literary productiveness alone was astonishing. The papers, great and small, published by him, number 518. The list does not include his separately published books, among which is a 'Popular Astronomy,' lately re-edited by Professor Turner. It is true that he originated little, and discovered nothing. 'Scientific imagination' had been denied to him—had been denied so completely that he never suspected the deficiency.

Towards the close of his life, his principle of order tyrannised over and troubled him. The methodical arrangements triumphantly devised in his youth embarrassed him in old age; and he struggled harder to get his correspondence properly pigeon-holed than to master its contents. His private accounts too, formerly kept with elaborate exactitude, became unmanageable, he was incapable of simplifying them; and the sole lament over his collapsing faculties which he permitted himself to utter was the bewildered exclamation that 'the figures would not add up.' *Sunt lachrymæ rerum.*

'In this year,' Airy noted in 1844, 'commenced that remarkable movement which led to the discovery of Neptune. On February 13 Professor Challis introduced Mr. Adams to me by letter. On February 15 I sent my observed places of Uranus, which were wanted.'

Challis succeeded Airy as Plumian Professor and as director of the Cambridge Observatory. He was industrious, amiable, and well-meaning, but—his senior wranglership notwithstanding—totally lacked insight and initiative. He spent his best energies on the pursuit of a phantom discovery. He could not seize on a critical conjuncture. Morally estimable and eminently disinterested as he was, there was no *fall of ground* in his mind towards the river-bed of scientific truth. Two men could scarcely have been less fortunately associated for the reception and encouragement of an unprecedented inquiry than Challis, with his vague, discursive intelligence, and Airy, with his keen, limited vision.

John Couch Adams was born June 5, 1819, at the farm-house of Lidcot, near Laneast Down, Cornwall. His father was, by hereditary prescription, a tenant-farmer; his mother, whose maiden name was Tabitha Knill Grylls, owned a small landed estate, and—what, under the circumstances, was far more important—inherited her uncle's library. The eldest of their seven children was the astronomer all the world knows of; another son lived as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and translated the Bible into the Tongan language; the youngest, William Grylls Adams, Professor of Natural Philosophy in King's College, London, is the editor of the imposing work named at the head of this article.

In John Couch Adams 'the boy was father to the man.' He was born to be what he became. Books were his earliest friends, the heavens his boyish playground. He turned the window-sill at Lidcot into a sun-dial, and constructed out of pasteboard an instrument for determining solar altitudes. At twelve he was sent to a school at Devonport, kept by his mother's cousin, the Rev. John Couch Grylls, and eagerly pursued his private studies in the library of the Mechanics' Institute there. He made maps of the constellations, took copious notes from books on astronomy, and calculated astronomical problems. After three weeks' watching, he caught sight of Halley's comet, on or about October 16, 1835; 'with what pleasure,' he wrote to his parents, 'you 'can conceive.' In anticipation of the partial solar eclipse

of May 15, 1836, he calculated its phases for Lidcot, in order that his brother Thomas (afterwards the missionary) might be forewarned; and he observed them himself at Stoke 'with a small spyglass which I borrowed.' 'The moon,' he added, 'looked most delightful after the end of the 'eclipse.' His account of the phenomenon went the round of the papers.

His mathematical genius becoming more and more apparent, it was at last determined, straitened domestic circumstances notwithstanding, to send him to Cambridge, and he entered St. John's College as a sizar in October 1839. Less than two years later, July 3, 1841, he made the following memorandum:—

'Formed a design at the beginning of this week of investigating, as soon as possible after taking my degree, the irregularities in the motion of Uranus which are yet unaccounted for, in order to find whether they may be attributed to the action of an undiscovered planet beyond it; and, if possible, thence to determine the elements of its orbit, &c., approximately, which would probably lead to its discovery.'

He was just twenty-two when this inspiration came to him. His full and calm reception of it showed a consciousness of exceptional powers. For the problem to be attacked was a virgin-fortress. The motions of Uranus had for some time given trouble. They were affected by obvious but unexplained irregularities. Acquaintance with the planet dated from Herschel's detection of its disc, March 13, 1781; but twenty observations of it as a fixed star had been subsequently disinterred. The earliest of these was made by Flamsteed in 1690; so that the body had been virtually under supervision during more than one circuit of its orbit, which it traverses in eighty-four years. To the dismay of computors, however, the old and recent places could by no means at their command be reconciled. There was nothing for it but to reject as untrustworthy the ancient data, and to rely exclusively upon the new. This was done in 1821 by Bouvard, Laplace's coadjutor; yet the ship did not right for his lightening of its cargo. His tables rapidly lost hold of the planet; errors accumulated; and the faint-hearted began to listen to counsels of despair, attributing the overthrow of planetary discipline to a break-down of the Newtonian law. A few, on the other hand, adopted the counter-hypothesis that an unknown mass, acting under the unshaken dominion of the same majestic principle, was pulling Uranus out of his prescribed path, and thus com-

promising his reputation for punctuality. Bouvard, Hussey, and Bessel were of this opinion; but any attempt at its verification was strongly discouraged by Airy. In 1834, he did not see, as yet, 'the smallest hope of making out the 'nature of any external action on the planet.' Indeed, he doubted whether there was any irregularity to be explained. After three years, he was indeed convinced of this patent fact; but he pronounced, as it were, *ex cathedrâ*, writing to Bouvard, October 12, 1837: 'If the error be the effect of an 'unseen body, it will be nearly impossible ever to find out 'its place.'*

Adams was happily unaware of the 'impossibility.' He graduated in 1843 as Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, and was immediately elected to a Fellowship of St. John's. The execution of his memorable plan was his next concern, and by a preliminary survey of its requirements, he soon ascertained that it promised success, and lay well within his capacity. The task was a formidable one. In gravitational astronomy, direct methods only had previously been pursued. The mutually attracting bodies being known by observation, it was required to determine their perturbations. And to do so with approximate completeness, had taxed all the analytical resources of Lagrange and Laplace. But what had to be done in the case of Uranus was, *from* the observed perturbations, to locate the attracting mass. This process of backward tracking was untried; it led through a thicket of difficulties, and could be brought to a successful issue only by the aid of novel modes of operation. The exercise of original invention was indispensable at every step. That such a thorny subject should have been appropriated by a young man of twenty-five as his first essay in celestial mechanics, strikes us with ever fresh surprise.

Adams finished his investigation, and placed it in the hands of Professor Challis, in September 1845. It afforded, in the words of the latter astronomer (due comparisons with observation having been appended), 'the earliest 'evidence of a complete solution of an inverse problem of 'perturbations.' The orbit, mass, and position at that epoch of a large, unknown, remote planet were given in it; which planet was shown to be the *fons et origo mali* as regards the unlicensed behaviour of Uranus. But, although the Northumberland telescope was quite capable of distinguish-

* Brewster, 'North British Review,' vol. vii. p. 207, 1847.

ing it by its measurable dimensions from a stellar point of light, Challis had no thought of a search. All he need have done was to set the equatoreal on the given spot, and move it to and fro along the ecliptic over less than two degrees. The 'wanted' object must have been captured within half an hour. Having made up his mind, however, that the indications submitted to him were of a very rough nature, he would have thought it waste of time to make such an experiment.

Adams now had recourse to Airy. Before the end of September, he called at the Royal Observatory. Its chief was absent in France. 'Bad luck,' Professor Sedgwick commented, 'but no blame anywhere.' The visit was twice vainly renewed on October 21; the Astronomer Royal was, at the earlier hour, out, at the later, dining. The caller left a brief written account of his results, and withdrew, profoundly mortified. An unfortunate circumstance ensued. In a letter dated November 5, 1845, Airy asked what seemed to him a crucial question. At first sight, it might have struck a physical astronomer as an ignorant question. Its inner meaning, however, as subsequently explained by him, related to the continued validity of the Newtonian principle of attraction. He regarded it as on its trial, and as scarcely more firmly established than was the theory of phlogiston when Lavoisier overthrew it by a few elementary experiments. This is an astounding avowal to have been made in 1846 by a man of his acumen and experience. Adams, unaware of any such lurking doubt, thought the query trivial, and postponed his reply until he had wrought out an improved theory of the planet. This, with a full explanation of the difficulty raised, he despatched to Greenwich September 2, 1846. It was too late. In his published 'Account' of the transaction, Airy said: 'I 'waited with much anxiety for Mr. Adams's answer. Had 'it been in the affirmative, I should have exerted all the 'influence which I might possess, either directly or indirectly, 'to procure the publication of Mr. Adams's theory.'

Meanwhile, a rival, prompt and strong, was on the Cambridge mathematician's track. Urbain Jean Joseph Leverrier presented to the Paris Academy of Sciences, June 1, 1846, a memoir in which he ratified unawares Adams's conclusions. 'I cannot sufficiently express,' wrote the English Astronomer Royal, 'the delight and satisfaction 'which I received from it. The place which it assigned to 'the disturbing planet was the same, to one degree, as

'that given by Mr. Adams's calculations which I had perused 'seven months earlier.' Leverrier, an experienced man of business, lost no time in answering the superfluous test-question neglected by Adams, and the last vestige of doubt as to the substantial reality of the disturbing body was effaced from Airy's mind. Why, then, did he not communicate with Adams? Why did he not so much as hint to Leverrier that he had been anticipated? Silence so unaccountable inevitably raised the suspicion that the claim to collateral discovery, put forward after the event, was false and fraudulent. As Professor Sedgwick put it: 'When it 'was found that Adams was confirmed by the fortunate 'Frenchman, the facts ought to have been out without more 'delay. Was Adams ever so much as told that Leverrier was 'at his heels? Our astronomers ought to have got up a flare 'in an instant.' Some years later, the Woodwardian Professor related to a company assembled in the Combination Room at Cambridge how Adams's achievement, because of his youth and modesty, had been virtually though not deliberately suppressed. Adams himself was present, in visible discomfort. *Conticuere omnes.* Sedgwick leant back meditatively. 'Suddenly he started up with fiery energy, and 'raising his arm with a fierce gesture, startled us all by 'exclaiming: "Curse their narcotic souls!"'* General laughter brought him back out of his moody dream.

At last, on July 9, Airy recommended to Challis a systematic exploration of the heavens. He at once acceded, and they arranged a plan of operations so large and *safe* as to be ineffectual. An area of 300 square degrees, or nearly thirty times larger than the conditions demanded, was set apart to be swept thrice from end to end, and from side to side; while Challis, although informed by Adams that the new planet would not be fainter than the ninth magnitude, decided to include in his observations stars down to the eleventh. Nevertheless, the object sought was actually recorded on the second and fourth nights of exploration—recorded, but not recognised. Challis, being much occupied with comet-reductions, postponed the comparison of his observations by which only (the difference in its aspect having passed unnoticed) it could have been picked out from the surrounding stars. He continued these leisurely proceedings for two months, took the places of 3,150 stars, and 'was making preparations to map them,' when taken aback

* Life of Adam Sedgwick, by Clark and Hughes, vol. ii. p. 287.

by the news that the perturbing planet had been identified by Galle at Berlin, September 23, 1846. The German Professor had received that morning a letter from Leverrier telling him where to look. He directed his telescope to the spot, and saw it. The recent completion of Bremiker's star-map of 'Hora xxi,' then unknown in England, enabled him to make sure of his capture at once. But the slackness of the English astronomers contrasts painfully with the diligence of the German. They squandered a year; he lost not a single hour.

Airy had spoken to Sir John Herschel, at the Visitation of the Royal Observatory on June 29, of the parallel researches of Adams and Leverrier; and the intelligence emboldened him, in a retiring Presidential Address to the British Association, on September 10, to speak confidently of the existence of an ultra-Uranian planet. 'We see it,' he declared, 'as Columbus saw America from the shores of 'Spain. Its movements have been felt, trembling along the 'far-reaching line of our analysis, with a certainty hardly 'inferior to that of ocular demonstration.' And, in a letter to the 'Athenæum' of October 3—'ocular demonstration' having intervened—he made the first public mention of Adams's name in connexion with the event. Little or no notice was taken of it. But a communication by Challis to the same journal on October 17 blew up a dust of controversy which subsided as slowly as the ashes from Krakatão.

'There was naturally,' Dr. Glaisher writes, 'a disinclination to give full credit to facts thus suddenly brought to light at such a time. It was startling to realise that the Astronomer Royal had had in his possession the data which would have enabled the planet to be discovered nearly a year before. On the other hand, it seemed extraordinary that a competent mathematician, who had determined the orbit of the disturbing planet, should have been content to refrain so long from making public his results.'

Forty years later, Professor Adams explained, in a still unpublished letter, the motive for his reticence. 'The 'reason,' he said, 'that I communicated my result to our 'English astronomers and did not publish it, as I might have 'done, was that I wanted them to look for the planet and 'find it, so that this country might have had the full credit 'of the discovery.' He added, in allusion to Airy's letter of November 5, 1845: 'I must say I was disappointed at the 'delay, and at his saying nothing about undertaking the 'search. No doubt I ought to have answered his letter, as I 'could readily have done; but if I had been wise, I should

'have communicated my result at once to the Royal Astrono-'mical Society.'

After the lapse of ten months, he drew up a summary account of his investigation, and went to Southampton, towards the middle of September 1846, in order to present it to the British Association, but arrived a day too late. The reading of this brief paper would just have saved the situation. Challis's telescopic operations, even had they been entirely effectual, could not have removed the subsisting ambiguity, since they were not undertaken until after Leverrier's location of the planet had been made known *urbi et orbi.*

At last, on November 13, 1846, Adams's long overdue Memoir 'On the Irregularities in the Motion of Uranus' was laid before the Astronomical Society, and immediately issued as an appendix to the 'Nautical Almanac' for 1851 (published five years in advance). But it had to wait two years for any formal acknowledgement of its merit. A senseless clamour was raised. Leverrier's natural indignation at what seemed like a 'put-up' pretension soon calmed down, it is true, under the soothing influence of his rival's matchless self-abnegation; but Arago's vehement utterances resounded through the press; and Airy noted drily, 'I was abused most savagely both by English 'and French.' In this country the scientific world divided itself into 'Adamite' and 'anti-Adamite' factions, the latter beating the air with ludicrous animosity. Airy, won, perhaps by Adams's gentle and friendly attitude, behaved most creditably throughout the strife. Adams himself expressly renounced the smallest share of fame for the discovery of 'Neptune.' Leverrier had no more cordial admirer; he met him with delight, and venerated his memory. Of his 'grievances,' as most other men would have called them, he never spoke. This scarcely less than heroic silence he kept unbroken to his death. Only a very few were aware that he had not traversed the crisis unscathed by keen suffering.

He declined knighthood in 1847. The fittest memorial to his achievement was the foundation of the Adams prize, awarded bi-annually for the best essay in astronomy, mathematics, or physics. Clerk Maxwell competed for it in 1857—needless to say, successfully—with his famous treatise 'On 'the Constitution of Saturn's Rings.' In 1858 Adams succeeded Peacock as Lowndean Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge; and he took over the charge of the Observatory on Challis's resignation in 1861. Under his

direction, the cataloguing of a star-zone was carried on steadily by his assistant, Mr. Graham; but his juvenile taste for personal observation was altogether submerged by his zeal for theoretical inquiries. The offer of the succession to Sir George Airy in 1881 did not tempt him to quit his academic retreat; official business would have been irksome, if not intolerable, to him.

The career begun by the virtual discovery of Neptune included two further conspicuous performances. The moon is nearer to us now by about 200 feet than when Thales predicted the solar eclipse of 585 B.C.; and the month is proportionately shorter. Twenty-five thousand years hence the balance will begin to be redressed, so that the change is not indefinitely progressive. Its cause, once indicated, seems obvious; yet the inability to find it long perplexed the geometers of the eighteenth century, and the great Lagrange in 1784 held it, one might say, in his hand, and let it go. The history of the inquiry recalls the Baconian apophthegm, 'Everything is subtle until it be conceived.' One of Laplace's most noteworthy triumphs was the removal of this difficulty. He demonstrated in 1787 that lunar acceleration is a direct consequence of a diminution in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, which has been proceeding for many millenniums, and will continue to proceed for many millenniums more. For the sun's influence tends, on the whole, to pull the moon away from the earth; and that influence being slightly diminished by the rounding out of the terrestrial path, the satellite closes in upon, and revolves more quickly round its primary.

Until 1853 lunar theory was regarded as, on this side, unassailable. The amount of acceleration deduced from the study of ancient eclipses agreed exactly with its calculated value. No further trouble was expected, when, like a bolt from the blue, came Adams's announcement that 'Laplace's 'explanation of the phenomenon in question was essentially 'incomplete.' Although true, it was inadequate. Scarcely more than half the observed quickening of the moon's pace was accounted for by it. This extremely abstract discovery occasioned, strange to say, an outbreak of human passion. *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?* Another bitter international controversy was raised. Once more Adams experienced the truth of Newton's saying: 'Philosophy is 'such an impertinently litigious lady that a man had as good 'be engaged in lawsuits as have to do with her.' Some French mathematicians regarded it as 'flat blasphemy' to introduce

terms which Laplace had thought fit to neglect. Pontécoulant accused Adams of having committed 'a downright analytical 'fraud.' Even Leverrier chose to stand by what he took to be facts and to disregard formulæ. Delaunay alone admitted the presence of a 'residual phenomenon,' and calmly speculated on its significance. In the 'Connaissance des Temps' for 1864 he gave an impartial summary of the discussion. 'The appearance of Adams's memoir' he described as 'of 'epochal importance, operating a complete revolution in 'that branch of theoretical astronomy.' His analysis, he added, was flawless; his result had been only confirmed by being contradicted.

In his efforts to account for the outstanding lunar acceleration, Delaunay hit upon a remarkable expedient. He threw out the idea that, not the moon's, but the earth's time-keeping was at fault. Through the potency in stopping rotation of primitive earth-raised tides on its still plastic mass, our satellite—as Kant rightly guessed in 1767—turns always towards us the same unvarying hemisphere. The influence was mutual. To this day oceanic tides act, although with extreme feebleness, as a friction-brake upon the earth. An infinitesimal part of its axial movement is thus arrested, and turned into heat. The lengthening of the day thus brought about might, according to the Imperial astronomer, supply the deficiency of Laplace's rationale. Professor Newcomb's researches, however, have rendered it probable that there is no deficiency to be supplied. His recalculations of ancient eclipses show that the moon's gain in velocity is less than had been supposed. Adams's equations, in fact, represent it with approximate exactness.

Hence Delaunay's subsidiary hypothesis was unnecessary; yet its introduction was an event of no slight importance. Tidal friction was not always so ineffective in the solar system as it is now. Professor G. H. Darwin demonstrated in 1879 its predominance in the developement of the earth-moon system, and his able inquiries have thrown a faint but steady light along the backward 'corridors of time.' They made, indeed, a fresh beginning in cosmogony, affording in especial a starting-point for Dr. See's researches into the origin of binary stars.

Adams performed a third memorable feat in his determination of the orbit of the November meteors. Professor Newton, of Yale College, had shown that any one of five periods of revolution round the sun was compatible with the recurrent 'Leonid' displays; but discrimination between

them demanded analytical powers of a high order. The criterion to be applied was this. By carefully tracing back the records of 'star-showers,' it had been ascertained that the swarm radiating from near the star γ Leonis struck the earth about eleven hours later at each successive return. In other words, the node, or place of encounter, advances; and it advances through planetary perturbations depending for their intensity upon the shape and size of the meteoric orbit. Thus, by laborious calculations of gravitational pulls and counter-pulls, Adams succeeded in deciding with certainty which of Newton's alternative periods consisted with an advance, by the observed amount, of the orbital node. The longest, of thirty-three and a quarter years, proved to be that actually obeyed, so that a repetition of the meteoric bombardment of 1866 may be confidently expected in 1899.

Here, once more, by a curious coincidence, Adams was anticipated by Leverrier, who published the elements of the Leonid orbit two months before his English competitor arrived independently, in March 1867, at a perfectly similar result. Its consequence was at once emphasised by the discovery that Tempel's comet of 1866 pursues exactly the indicated track—that it is itself either a Leonid of a larger growth, or the parent of the Leonids. The association of a comet with the August meteors had been pointed out by Schiaparelli in the previous December, and two further undoubted instances of the same kind of correspondence have been brought to light. There is, in fact, a strong probability that every meteoric system has, or *had* (for such bodies are perishable), a comet attached to it.

Adams published little, because his standard was high. Gauss's motto, *Pauca sed matura*, might have been his.* He could not bring himself to let his papers leave his hands until, in form and style, they satisfied his fastidious taste. Some of them waited twenty years for finishing touches which they were never destined to receive. He left behind accordingly a considerable bulk of manuscripts nearly ready for the press, which will appear in future volumes of the present edition. In that already issued the works published during his lifetime are collected. In mathematics he was, like Andrea del Sarto in painting, *senza errore*. The most exalted minds have shown themselves fallible; but Adams, by some curious felicity of his nature, appeared incapable of making a mistake. The

* Glaisher.

correctness of his results was due to judgement no less than to skill. For the problems of gravitational astronomy can be solved only approximately, and success in attacking them depends upon the choice of that path which leads nearest to the goal. In simple numerical calculations Adams took great delight. To employ his faculties without exerting them was to him genuine recreation, and terrific arrays of figures were his favourite playthings. He kept them in hand with the marvellous facility displayed by an Indian juggler in tossing his balls or knives.

'In beginning a new research,' Dr. Glaisher tells us, 'Adams rarely put pen to paper until he had carefully thought out the subject, and when he proceeded to write out the investigation, he developed it rapidly and without interruption. His accuracy and power of mind enabled him to map out the course of the work beforehand in his head, and his mathematical instinct, combined with perfect familiarity with astronomical ideas and methods, guided him with ease and safety through the intricacies and dangers of the analytical treatment. He scarcely ever destroyed anything he wrote, or performed rough calculations; and the manuscripts which he has left are written so carefully and clearly that it is difficult to believe that they are not finished work which has been copied out fairly.'

The same disregard of tentative processes was shown in his tripos examination, when he devoted a full hour to mentally solving the problems on the paper. This done he went 'full steam ahead,' and distanced everybody, the second wrangler getting only half his marks.

He was by no means a *mere* mathematician. Various branches of knowledge attracted his earnest attention; he read widely, and his memory served him well. Novels never came amiss to him, especially during periods of mental strain. He collected early printed books, loved music and scenery, and the cordial simplicity of his nature gave a particular charm to his companionship. His recondite pursuits did not cut him off from public interests. The acute crises of the world's affairs stirred his deepest sympathies, and he watched the tragic drama of the Franco-German war with such painful emotion that at times he could neither work nor sleep. As an astronomer he welcomed every improvement, however startling and unexpected. A master in the elder astronomy, he none the less readily accepted the new methods and the astonishing revelations brought by them. His open mind admitted every legitimate innovation.

Adams married in 1863 Miss Bruce, of Dublin, who survives him. His health was perfect until 1889, but

finally broke down in June 1890. During the ensuing long illness his character unfolded its full beauty, and engaged the enthusiastic affection of those who came near him. Among these was Dr. Donald MacAlister, whose words about him we cannot forbear to quote.

'It is in times of physical pain and weakness,' he said at a meeting on February 20, 1892, 'that the true fibre of the soul is tested; and never did a nature better stand the test than his. The unwavering constancy, the innate kindness, the unceasing thought for others, the absolute unselfishness which characterised him throughout his years of strength and health, shone with redoubled lustre during that time of suffering.'

He died January 21, 1892, and a portrait medallion of him by Mr. Bruce Joy was placed in Westminster Abbey, close to the grave of Newton, May 9, 1895. Many were reminded of his continued existence only by his death. He had, in a manner, outlived himself. Like Ulysses, he had 'become 'a name' detached from a personality. Although he did not see out his seventy-third year, he 'blazed' so young, and, to the vulgar apprehension, smouldered so long, that he had almost slipped by anticipation into the historical niche which is now his—

> 'While the stars burn, the moons increase,
> And the great ages onward roll.'

Could it but have remained empty a little longer! There would have seemed, to our poor mortal apprehension, a beautiful fitness in his taking part last September in the jubilee of the discovery of Neptune. But *Diis aliter visum.*

ART. IV.—*The Life of Nelson the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain.* By CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N., D.C.L., LL.D. Boston, U.S.A., and London: 1897.

WE live in a year of retrospection. 'Tis sixty years since' is a phrase that for the last six months has been in everyone's mouth, in everyone's thoughts; and assuredly in nothing have the changes which have marked the Victorian era been more important to us as a nation than in those which have taken place in the 'art of war by sea.' In the form, armament, and propulsion of our ships of war the changes have been so great that it is scarcely too much to say that there is more difference between the ships of the present time and those of sixty years ago than there was between them and the ships of five hundred years earlier, the ships which fought and conquered at Sluys and Les Espagnols-sur-Mer. The problems of naval war, indeed, remain the same. What they were in the days of Edward III., of Drake, of Hawke, or of Nelson they are now; but the methods of their solution have been modified, how greatly can be best understood on looking, with the mind's eye, at the long lines of ships which were reviewed by the Prince of Wales at Spithead scarcely three weeks ago: battle ships, cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats—all, in their various degrees, masterpieces of modern science. Sixty years ago, steam navigation was still in its infancy; in the navy, it was in its babyhood. The Russian war quickened its developement; but even forty years ago, sailing ships of the line were still in commission* on distant stations, frigates and smaller craft were still abundant. Now, the handling of a ship under sail has become little more than a tradition. Thirty years ago it was beginning to be common for a young officer to come up for examination with only a theoretical knowledge of how to put a ship about; to-day, there must be many captains in the same position; to-morrow, there will be many admirals. It will thus be more and more difficult to grasp the conditions of service afloat in the end of last century; to realise the impossibility of doing things which seem so easy. It is already hard to picture to ourselves the case of an important expedition delayed for a

* The last sailing line-of-battle ships in commission for active service were the 'Calcutta,' the flagship in China, which was paid off in August 1859, and the 'Indus,' flagship in the West Indies, paid off in the spring of 1860.

month or six weeks at St. Helens while the wind blew persistently from the south-west—as happened to the expedition against Rochefort in 1757; or to understand that ships, whether of war or peace, could neither sail nor arrive with the punctuality of a modern P. and O. boat, or of a New York liner.

Independent of many other considerations, it is on this account fortunate that the 'Life of Nelson' should have been, after these long years, undertaken by a capable seaman whose experience carries him back to the days when sailing ships were still in being, and steamers were frequently navigated under sail. Captain Mahan can remember what it was to be five hundred miles to leeward of the destined port, and how hopeless the task of making it against a foul wind often seemed. He has probably himself experienced, he has certainly lived in familiar intercourse, as shipmate or messmate, with those who have experienced, the hardships of the past—when the length of the voyage was doubtful; when fresh provisions were unknown, except in the form of live stock; when salt pork was rusty, when salt beef could be fashioned by a turner into mahogany snuff boxes, when weevils were a principal constituent of biscuit, when water was putrid puddle, and when, even of these abominations, the allowance was often scanty. To most men, even to naval officers of the present day, such things are but as a tale that is told; and it is therefore well that the story of the heroic past should be drawn on a fitting scale by one who has all the qualifications, not only of an historian—accustomed to weigh evidence; of a writer—practised in the harmony of words and sentences; of an instructor—habituated to the consideration and discussion of the problems of strategy and tactics; but also and especially, of one practically acquainted with the manner of life which he has to describe; familiar with its dangers and difficulties, its possibilities and limitations. Captain Mahan has, too, the experience, happily strange to any English officer, of continued war. The nearest approach to it that anyone in our own service can have, is that of the campaigns in the Baltic or Black Sea in 1854 and 1855; but though these reproduced some of the old monotony and discomfort, feebly recalling the long, tedious blockades of Brest or Toulon, there was no opportunity of repeating the brilliant episodes of the past. During the civil war in the United States, Captain Mahan served, for the most part, in the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico; we do not know if he had any share in the great blockade of the Atlantic coast.

But in any case, to take part in, or to witness, or to hear at first hand of the achievements of Porter and Farragut, was a valuable training for the man who was to write the history of that section of the war and the biography of the great American admiral.* He has not indeed had the further experience of the responsibilities of high command; but, as flag-captain, he has been a close witness of them, and is in a position to understand them when intensified by the necessities of war and by the magnitude of a force such as that which Nelson had under his orders in the Mediterranean.

In this respect, indeed, it would, of course, be easy to name many officers in our own service who have a much wider knowledge of the demands of a great fleet; but it is only one of the many qualifications desirable; to which Captain Mahan adds that of being, as a foreigner, able to take a more impartial view of Nelson's character and conduct than is, perhaps, possible for an Englishman who is almost compelled to write as an advocate. Popular feeling in England is so jealous of Nelson's fame that an attempt to criticise any parts of his conduct is certain to be condemned. The temptation is thus very strong for an Englishman to flavour his comments too strongly with honey or with gall; and to represent Nelson as one for whom wrong became right, or, on the other hand, as a man of really very limited capacity, who, in some extraordinary way, did blunder into astonishing successes. To such a temptation a foreigner is not subject. Free from the strong national feeling which encircles Nelson's memory, he can marshal the facts and judge from the evidence. Nor can it be forgotten that, in the particular case before us, Captain Mahan has not undertaken the work out of a mere desire to hymn the achievements of a hero, but has been led to it by his studies on the influence of sea power, which have shown him Nelson as one of the principal factors in the supremacy which England obtained and held at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. He has thus come, in natural sequence, to inquire more closely into the art and nature of the man who achieved such tremendous results; he has considered his career as a very important stage in the science of war, and has examined the developement of it not only as an historical but as a psychological problem of the

* 'The Navy in the Civil War: the Gulf and Inland Waters' (1883); 'Admiral Farragut' (1892).

deepest interest. The task which he has put before himself has not been the exaltation of Nelson's genius and character, but rather the exact appreciation of these in their bearing on the story, the achievements, the greatness of Nelson—'the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain.'

It is thus that the chief interest of the work does not lie wholly in the narrative, though that is given with clearness and spirit; occasionally, too, with some novel detail which the author's industry has succeeded in rescuing from oblivion. In this, he has been aided by his reputation as an exponent of naval history, which has brought him papers—journals, letters, &c.—from the private storehouses in which they have been hoarded during the greater part of the century. To the general reader the outstanding merit of the work lies in the success Captain Mahan has achieved in making known to us the real personality of the British hero—a man singularly great indeed, yet at times open to the influence of smallnesses and vanities which the robust nature even of average men would despise.

To the commentary, to the criticisms, the explanations, and the discussions much importance, as well as great interest, attaches. To some it will no doubt occur that these are of inordinate length. To the careful student they will prove most valuable; for even if he may differ from the conclusions, the discussions are pregnant with suggestion, and can scarcely be followed without new light being thrown on the varied incidents of a complex career. Occasionally, however, it must be admitted there is want of proportion, and minutiæ of little importance are sometimes discussed with as much care and thoroughness as if the fate of empires depended on them. Such, for instance, is the alleged coolness of Lord Hood towards Nelson during the years 1788–92, and the sentence in one of Nelson's letters,—'He [Hood] 'made a speech never to be effaced from my memory, viz: 'that the King was impressed with an unfavourable opinion 'of me.' Captain Mahan seems to us to lay more stress on this than the circumstances warrant. He considers the fact that Hood refused to appoint Nelson to a ship during the Spanish armament of 1790 as marking its serious nature; in momentary forgetfulness that, as captain of the 'Boreas' for three years, Nelson had had a very full share of the limited amount of patronage at the disposal of the Admiralty during peace. It is quite possible that several incidents during the commission of the 'Boreas' had given Hood reason to doubt Nelson's discretion; but that he had him

appointed to the 'Agamemnon' on the first serious threat of war is a proof that the 'alienation' was not very serious. Had it been so, the custom of the Admiralty was then very clearly defined: Nelson's career in the service would have been ended, and he would have been permitted to go on digging holes in the garden at Burnham Thorpe to the end of the chapter.

But this and other passages to which the same exception might be taken must be considered as unimportant differences of estimate, in which the author's aim at completeness has perhaps led him into excess. In other cases, we may frankly accept his right to the discussion, though we may doubt the correctness of his argument. One such is the familiar question of Nelson's share in the operations at Bastia. Everyone who has read the story of Nelson's life knows that it was mainly, perhaps entirely, through Nelson's influence that Hood undertook the siege, and that Nelson had a very important share in its success. The commonly received story, as related by Southey, is that 'by Nelson Bastia was 'taken;' but, added Southey, 'his signal merits were not so 'mentioned in the despatches as to make them sufficiently 'known to the nation, nor to obtain for him from govern-'ment those honours to which they so amply entitled him. 'This could only have arisen from the haste in which the 'despatches were written.' A comparison of dates, however, shows that, whatever the omission, haste could have nothing to do with it, and Captain Mahan makes no reference to the suggestion. But he does consider that the despatch was insufficient, or rather, inaccurate; and explains it by a desire on the part of Hood to forward the interests of Captain Hunt at the expense of Nelson. Taken by themselves, Hood's words are clear and distinct:—

'I am unable to give due praise to the unremitting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Villettes, who had the honour of commanding his Majesty's troops: never was either more conspicuous. Major Brereton and every officer and soldier under the lieutenant-colonel's orders are justly entitled to my warmest acknowledgements; their persevering ardour and desire to distinguish themselves cannot be too highly spoken of, and which it will be my pride to remember to the latest period of my life.

'Captain Nelson, of his Majesty's ship "Agamemnon," who had the command and directions of the seamen in landing the guns, mortars, and stores, and Captain Hunt, who commanded at the batteries, very ably assisted by Captain Bullen and Captain Serocold, and the Lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane, have an

equal claim to my gratitude, as the seamen under their management worked the guns with great judgement and alacrity;'

meaning, of course, 'equal claim' with the army officers. In this, writes Captain Mahan, 'Hood, in his desire to serve 'Hunt, not only unduly but absurdly minimised Nelson's 'relations to the whole affair.' But did he? On the contrary, the evidence is positive that Hood's language was strictly accurate.

On April 24 Nelson wrote to Hood:—

'Your Lordship knows exactly the situation I am in here. With Colonel Villettes I have no reason but to suppose I am respected in the highest degree; nor have I occasion to complain of want of attention to my wishes for the good of the service from any parties; but yet I am considered as not commanding the seamen landed. My wishes may [be,] and are, complied with; my orders would possibly be disregarded: therefore, if we move from hence, I would wish your Lordship to settle that point. Your Lordship will not, I trust, take this request amiss: I have been struggling with it since the first day I landed.'

And again on April 25:—

'I feel myself most exceedingly obliged by your kind letter of yesterday, and am happy that my ideas of the situation I am in here so perfectly agree with your Lordship's. Captain Hunt is a most exceeding good young man, nor is anyone more zealous for the service. I don't complain of anyone, but an idea has entered into the heads of some under him, that Captain Hunt's command was absolutely distinct from me; and that I had no authority whatever over him, except as a request. It was even doubted whether I had a right to command the officers and seamen landed from the "Agamemnon"—that word, "attached to the batteries," was wrested to a meaning very different from your Lordship's thoughts.

'Your kind intention to Captain Hunt I had the honour of telling your Lordship should be furthered by every means in my power; and my regard for him, I assure you, is undiminished. At present, no letter can be necessary, but when your Lordship may judge it proper, I will thank you for an order to command the seamen without any distinction as to any particular services.'

Comparing these letters with Hood's despatch of May 24 already quoted, it may be assumed, with some certainty, that the order which Nelson requested was never given; nor does Nelson ever assert or imply that it was; though, on reading the despatch, he wrote to his uncle, William Suckling:—

'Lord Hood and myself were never better friends—nor, although his letter does, did he wish to put me where I never was—in the rear. Captain Hunt, who lost his ship, he wanted to push forward for

another—a young man who never was on a battery, or ever rendered any service during the siege: if any person ever says he did, then I submit to the character of a story-teller. Poor Serocold, who fell here, was determined to publish an advertisement, as he commanded a battery under my orders. The whole operations of the siege were carried on through Lord Hood's letters to me. I was the mover of it —I was the cause of its success. Sir Gilbert Elliot will be my evidence, if any is required. I am not a little vexed, but shall not quarrel. We shall be successful here; and a stranger and a landsman will probably do me that credit which a friend and a brother officer has not given me.'

It is to this letter that Captain Mahan pointedly refers. It appears to us that he has put on one side the consideration that whilst Hood's despatch was limited to the statement of official fact, Nelson's letter to his uncle was at liberty to give impressions which—in part, at least—were exaggerations; for even if Hunt's command of the batteries was waived, and it was admitted that Nelson had the entire charge of the 200 seamen who were landed, he had assuredly not the command of Villettes and his thousand soldiers, whom, notwithstanding the equality, by right of number Hood placed first. The point is more important in a biography of Nelson than may at first sight appear; for it gives some measure of the dependence which is to be placed on Nelson's familiar letters, in which the sentiment or the petulance of the moment not unfrequently led him into statements which he would scarcely have ventured on when writing with a sense of responsibility.

As to the operations which Nelson himself conducted there is little room for hesitation, and Captain Mahan repeats, but with greater emphasis, his former criticism on the service of the inshore squadron in the Gulf of Genoa during the autumn of 1795. It is a chapter which we would strongly commend to the attention of all readers as being, both as to what was done and as to what was not done, a singularly interesting exposition of the actual or potential influence of sea power on the most celebrated of Bonaparte's early campaigns. Nelson came on the coast with his hands tied. A circular letter from the Admiralty had just warned the several captains to avoid giving offence to 'foreign powers in amity with his Majesty,' and had directed them, when detaining any vessels belonging to such powers, 'to transmit to the Secretary of the Admiralty a 'complete specification of their cargoes, and not to institute 'any legal process against such ships or vessels until their 'Lordships' further pleasure shall be known.' Now the

coasting trade, by which the French army was supported, was carried on in vessels belonging to Genoa, a power nominally friendly, but in reality subject to France. As Captain Mahan states the case:—

'Unless the supplies thus received by the French could be stopped, the Austrian general would not only be unable to advance, but feared he could not hold his present position. If, on the other hand, the forage and grain thus brought to them could be intercepted, they would be forced to retreat, and there were hopes that the Austrians might reach Nice before winter, thus covering the excellent and advanced harbour of Villefranche as an anchorage for their British allies. Nelson readily understood the situation, and admitted the necessity of the service demanded of his squadron, which was simply a blow at the enemy's communications; but he pointed out to the minister that the circular instructions, before quoted, tied his hands. Not only would the ordinary difficulties of proving the ownership and destination of a cargo give rise to the usual vexatious disputes, and irritate neutrals, contrary to the spirit of the order; but there was a particular complication in this instance, arising from the occupation of Genoese towns by French troops, and from the close proximity of the neutral and hostile seaboards. These embarrassments might be met, were it permissible to sell the cargoes, and hold the money value, subject to the decision of an Admiralty court upon the propriety of the seizure; but this the circular explicitly forbade, until the case was referred to England. If the decision there was adverse to the captors, the other party would look to the responsible naval officer for pecuniary redress, and as, during the delay, the cargo would be spoiled, costs could come only out of the captor's pocket.'

The case, he continues, was one in which Nelson's line of conduct could have been safely predicted by anyone familiar with Nelson's character. After a night's reflection he determined to take the risk, without consulting Hotham, who would, he knew, be opposed to the strong measures which seemed necessary, but would be equally loth to reverse those which he found in force.

'Like the American frontiersman whose motto was "Be sure you're right, then go ahead," Nelson, when convinced, knew no hesitations; but further, he unquestionably derived keen enjoyment from the sense that the thing done involved risk to himself, appealed to, and brought into play his physical or moral courage, in the conscious exercise of which he delighted. "I am acting," he wrote, "not only without the orders of my commander-in-chief, but in some measure contrary to them . . . Political courage in an officer abroad is as highly necessary as military courage. . . . The orders I have given are strong and I know not how my admiral will approve of them, for they are in a great measure contrary to those he gave me; but the service requires strong and vigorous measures to bring the war to a conclusion."'

Amid the dreary minutiæ of a blockade which in the long run, and owing largely to Hotham's incapacity, proved ineffectual, this illustration of Nelson's independence of thought has generally escaped notice. In history, it is unimportant; in a biography, Captain Mahan has rightly seized on it. He says:—

'The case bore some resemblance to that in which he had disobeyed Hughes in the West Indies; but the disregard of the superior's orders on the earlier occasion was more direct, and the necessity for it less urgent. In both he disobeyed first, and referred afterwards, and in both his action was practically sustained; for, whatever the technical fault, the course taken was the one demanded by the needs of the situation. It is possible to recognise the sound policy, the moral courage, and the correctness of such a step in the particular instance, without at all sanctioning the idea that an officer may be justified in violating orders, because he thinks it right. The justification rests not upon what he thinks, but upon the attendant circumstances which prove that he is right; and, if he is mistaken, if the conditions have not warranted the infraction of the fundamental principle of military efficiency,—obedience,—he must take the full consequences of his error, however honest he may have been. Nor can the justification of disobedience fairly rest upon any happy consequences that follow upon it, though it is a commonplace to say that the result is very apt to determine the question of reward or blame. There is a certain confusion of thought prevalent on this matter, most holding the rule of obedience too absolutely, others tending to the disorganising view that the integrity of the intention is sufficient; the practical result, and for the average man the better result, being to shun the grave responsibility of departing from the letter of the order. But all this only shows more clearly the great professional courage and professional sagacity of Nelson, that he so often assumed such a responsibility, and so generally—with, perhaps, but a single exception—was demonstrably correct in his action.'

As Nelson had expected, Hotham was forced to approve of his measures and to extend them. The trade in sea-going vessels was put an end to; but with sea-going vessels it was found impossible to prevent small boats passing along close inshore and ready to run under the batteries with which the French had lined the coast. These could only be stopped by similar vessels, of which Nelson had none. An attempt was made to supply their place with ships' boats, but 'the results were too uncertain and hazardous to warrant perseverance;' and Nelson was thus led to the idea of seizing some port on shore and holding it in force, so as effectually to cut the enemy's communications. He proposed to De Vins, the Austrian general, to land five thousand men at San Remo, with their field-guns and stores,

to maintain their supplies and to cover their re-embarkation, should it become necessary. If San Remo were held, the French army must, he said, abandon its present lines. This was evident; but De Vins considered the scheme too hazardous, and nothing was done. Captain Mahan thinks that De Vins was right, that the proposal was not really practicable.

'There is,' he says, 'an immeasurable difference between the holding of a strongly fortified city with an army corps, and the mere seizure of a comparatively open position by a detachment, which, if it means to remain, must have time to fortify itself, in order to withstand the overwhelming numbers that the enemy must at once throw upon it. The time element, too, is of the utmost importance. It is one thing to grasp a strong position with a few men, expecting to hold it for some hours, to delay an advance or a retreat until other forces can come into play, and quite another to attempt to remain permanently and unsupported in such a situation.'

At any rate, San Remo was not to be occupied, and Nelson's restless energy suggested that the enemy might be more persistently annoyed if the force under his orders was somewhat larger. He had with him only one ship of the line, and that of the smallest size. He proposed that two seventy-fours should be added. Hotham refused his request. The reason, says Captain Mahan, 'is not apparent.'

'The fleet spent its time chiefly in San Fiorenzo Bay or in Leghorn, making occasional cruises off Toulon to observe the French navy in that port. The latter was undoubtedly its principal care; but, being distinctly inferior to the British, it is impossible to say why Nelson should not have been reinforced. If it was due to the wish to continue so largely superior in numbers, it certainly illustrates with singular appositeness the deterrent effect of an inferior "fleet in being," and that that effect lies less in the nature of things than in the character of the officer upon whom it is produced. Moreover, the employment of adequate force upon the Riviera, in active aggressive work under Nelson during the summer, when it was practicable to do so, would have compelled the French fleet to come out and fight, or the French army to fall back.'

The failure was of course due to the incompetence of the admiral; to his incapacity to initiate or even approve a bold policy. He had two opportunities of destroying the French fleet, and had not availed himself of them; he might have stopped the advance of the French army, and had neglected to do so. When,

'On the 1st of November he struck his flag in Genoa, and departed, he bequeathed to his successors a military estate encumbered by the old mortgage of the French fleet, still in being, which he might have

cleared off, and by a new one in the numerous and powerful batteries of the Riviera, built and controlled by troops whose presence to erect them might have been prevented by a timely action on his part. The harm, being done, was thenceforth irreparable. As time passed, the situation became more and more favourable to the French. The reinforcements from Spain arrived, and gunboats and flatboats, fitted out at Toulon, began to come upon the scene. . . . The coasting activity redoubled along the Riviera, from Toulon to the French front. By November 1st a hundred sail—transports and small ships of war—had assembled fifteen miles behind Borghetto, in Alassio Bay, whither Nelson had chased them. Depôts and supplies were collecting there for the prospective movement. Nelson offered to enter the bay with three ships-of-the-line, specified by name, and to destroy them; but this was declined by Sir Hyde Parker, who had temporarily succeeded Hotham in command, and who at a later day, in the Baltic, was to check some of Nelson's finest inspirations. "I pretend not to say," wrote the latter, a month afterwards, when the Austrians had been driven from their lines, "that the Austrians would not have been beat had not the gunboats harassed them, for, on my conscience, I believe they would; but I believe the French would not have attacked had we destroyed all the vessels of war, transports, &c." As to the practicability of destroying them, Nelson's judgement can safely be accepted, subject only to the chances which are inseparable from war.'

It is in the discussion of this and other little noticed incidents in Nelson's career that one great charm of the present work lies. Other writers have related the brilliant achievements and have exalted the fame of the 'mighty 'Nelson' in language which has taken its place among the gems of English literature. Captain Mahan alone, among all his biographers, has fully brought out the inner workings of Nelson's character and shown how much of his success was due to his prompt decision, his inflexible resolution, his absolute self-reliance, and his utter fearlessness of responsibility. Other men might see what was wanted; might see the advisability of a certain course of action; but without the conviction of its necessity, without the force of character to act on that conviction, the opportunity was lost in the delay of reference or discussion. In war, time, as Nelson was in the habit of saying, is everything; five minutes might make the difference between victory and defeat.

The most familiar as well as the most perfect instance of this side of the hero's character is the incident of his wearing the 'Captain' out of the line in the battle of Cape St. Vincent, and throwing her across the path of the huge 'Santisima Trinidad' and half a dozen of her consorts, smaller only than herself. The action was so extraordinary, has seemed so monstrous, that many have refused to accept

it in its simple truth. The historian James, a narrow-minded man, but of scrupulous and painstaking honesty, convinced himself that it was impossible, and has described Nelson's manœuvre as ordered by the commander-in-chief; a statement which Sir Harris Nicolas had no difficulty in showing to be contradictory in itself and to all positive evidence. But James was, to some extent, following the lead of Sir William Parker, who seems to have considered Nelson's manœuvre as nothing more than undue haste in obeying the signal to 'tack in succession,' and so getting improperly from the rear of the line to the van. There can now, however, be no doubt that the manœuvre was as contrary to the spirit as to the letter of the signal, was a distinct departure from the order of the commander-in-chief, and might, but for the brilliant success which attended it, have brought on its author the pains and penalties inflicted by a court martial for disobedience. It was this quick appreciation of the circumstances, this instantaneous decision, this prompt and daring act so contrary to all the traditions of the service, that constitutes the chief glory of Nelson in this battle; more, many times more, than the celebrated capture of the two great ships which followed. And so Captain Mahan has considered it:—

'The dramatic and picturesque surroundings which coloured the seizure of these two Spanish ships have doubtless given an exaggerated idea of the danger and difficulty attending the exploit. The impression made upon a sympathetic and enthusiastic eyewitness, Sir Gilbert Elliot, who saw the affair from the decks of the frigate "Lively," has been transmitted to posterity with little diminution. "Nothing in the world was ever more noble than the transaction of the 'Captain,' from beginning to end, and the glorious group of your ship and her two prizes, fast in your gripe, was never surpassed, and I dare say never will." Yet it may better be looked upon as another of those "fortunate" occurrences which attend—and in Nelson's career repeatedly attended—the happy meeting of opportunity and readiness. Doubtless they were beaten ships, but other beaten ships have escaped in general actions—did at St. Vincent. "I pretend not to say," wrote Nelson a week later, "that these ships might not have fell, had I not boarded them; but truly it was far from impossible but they might have forged into the Spanish fleet as the other two ships did." He was there, he could do nothing else, he saw with his rapid glance that he might do this, and he did it. And, after all, it was a big thing—this boarding a first-rate ship over the decks of another hostile ship, not inaptly characterised in the fleet as "Nelson's patent bridge." We must mark, too, or we shall miss significant indications of character, that the same qualities which led him to the quarter-deck of the "San Josef" had led him but an hour before from the rear of

the fleet to the van to save the fight,—the same quickness to see opportunity, the same promptness to seize it, the same audacity to control it. The brilliant crowning of the day may be but an ornament, but it sits well and fitly upon the knightly deed that rolled back the tide of battle in the hour of need.'

With admirable judgement Captain Mahan examines the question afterwards raised by Sir William Parker, who had commanded the van, with his flag in the 'Prince George,' and considered that Nelson's published account of the battle detracted from his own just share of the credit. Nelson had said that the 'Captain' and 'Culloden' were left unsupported for nearly an hour. Parker asserted that the 'Blenheim,' 'Prince George' and 'Orion' were close up with the 'Culloden;' and from his curiously involved sentences we may gather that he wished to say that these ships were actually engaged in support of the 'Captain' within fifteen minutes from her bringing the 'Santisima Trinidad' to action. Captain Mahan considers it 'probable that 'Nelson over-estimated the period that he and Troubridge 'remained unsupported; time would seem long to the 'bravest man when opposed to such heavy odds.' To which it may be added that in other battles of this period, and notably at the Nile and at Trafalgar, similar complaints—very certainly without foundation—were made by the leading ships. The log of the 'Royal Sovereign' at Trafalgar states that, after cutting through the enemy's line, she was in action alone and unsupported for forty minutes, before the 'Belle-isle' came up; but the log of the 'Belle-isle,' corroborated by others logs and by independent circumstances, says that she was two cables—four hundred yards—astern of the 'Royal Sovereign,' and broke through the enemy's line nine minutes after her. Similarly at the Nile, the 'Goliath' has been said to have been fifty minutes in action by herself. The logs of the ships immediately following and the confidential letters of their captains show that the interval was certainly less than ten minutes and was probably not more than five.

Too much success is not wholly desirable; an occasional 'beating is good for men and nations.' Such is the remarkable sentence with which Captain Mahan introduces the story of the disastrous attack on Santa Cruz. He points out that the enterprise had occupied Nelson's thoughts for more than three months; but he scarcely lays sufficient stress on the fact that the plan which Nelson had in his mind was based on the assistance of a considerable

land force. The heights commanding the town were, he believed, unfortified, and could be easily seized; the water supply, too, could be cut off. Without troops, the case was altogether different; and when first De Burgh and afterwards O'Hara refused their co-operation, the matter was allowed to rest; nor was it revived till, towards the middle of July, Jervis received intelligence of a richly laden ship from Manila having put into Santa Cruz. A landing in force was an essential part of Nelson's plan; and though he was not likely to flinch from any enterprise which his commander-in-chief considered feasible, it may be doubted whether he was so confident of success as Captain Mahan seems to think. At any rate, the extracts quoted from Nelson's correspondence are of an earlier date—June 6 and 7—and can have no direct connexion with the scheme which took definite form on July 14. It was still hoped to occupy the heights in rear of the town; but in the want of adequate force this was to be done by surprise. The line of battle-ships were to remain at a distance, out of sight; the marines and small-arm men of the squadron were put on board the frigates, which might, it was thought, approach near enough to throw the men ashore, without exciting suspicion or alarm. What followed may be best told in Captain Mahan's words.

'By midnight [July 21–2] the frigates were within three miles of the landing-place; but there strong wind and contrary current delayed them, and before they could get within a mile the day dawned. Thus discovered, the hope of surprise was lost. At 6 A.M., when the squadron approached, Troubridge went on board the "Theseus" and told Nelson that he thought, if the heights over the fort, in its rear, could be seized, he could yet compel it to surrender. The landing-party was therefore put on shore at nine, but could not dispossess the enemy, who had recognised the importance of the position indicated by Troubridge, and had occupied it in force. The ships-of-the-line endeavoured to get within range of the fort, to batter it, but could not come nearer than three miles. They were unable even to reach anchoring-ground, and, as it was blowing very fresh, they struck their topgallantmasts and stood off and on. At night Troubridge re-embarked his men on board the frigates, which had remained where they were. The following morning, July 23, Nelson abandoned the attempt upon the fort, recalling the frigates; and, as the wind did not yet serve to approach the shore, he continued under sail during that day and the next. The members of the landing-party rejoined their proper ships.'

What followed is more familiarly known. Nelson was unwilling to give up the enterprise without a direct assault,

and on the evening of July 24 the boats were ordered in, to land in force at the mole. In the darkness of night many of the boats lost their way, or were stove in the surf and the men thrown into the water, to the destruction of their ammunition. Nelson himself had his right arm shattered, and a large proportion of the men were killed or wounded. The next morning Troubridge, who had succeeded to the command, entered into negotiations with the governor, and was permitted to withdraw his men, on a pledge that the ships would make no further attempt on the town. And thus, defeated, mutilated, dispirited, Nelson rejoined the admiral. There were, no doubt, many to say that he had acted rashly, inconsiderately; that the attempt was hopeless from the first and ought not to have been attempted. Jervis, now Earl of St. Vincent, took a different view and soothed his wounded feelings with kindly words; but he was dissatisfied with himself, in pain of mind and body, and he arrived in England thinking that his career was closed. In all this there is nothing new. What is new in Captain Mahan's treatment of the business, is the prominence which he has given to the first abortive attempt, which, because it was abortive, has generally been passed over with a casual mention. But, in fact, it was the pre-arranged plan, by which more particularly Nelson should be judged. The assault actually made was altogether an afterthought, the counsel of disappointment. It is thus that Captain Mahan's criticisms have here the additional interest of novelty, and lead to a higher estimate of Nelson's character by a comparison which appears legitimate:—

'It is likely, too, that his discouragement was increased by brooding over the failure of his enterprise; believing, as he did, that had he been with the landing-party, the first attempt would have succeeded. He could scarcely fail now to see that, although it was strictly in accordance with service methods for the senior to remain with the ships, the decisive point in the plan, as first formed, was the seizure of the heights, and that there, consequently, was the true place for the one in chief command. Any captain, Troubridge especially, could have placed the ships as well as Nelson. It is self-accusation, and not fault-finding merely, that breathes in the words: "Had I been with the first party, I have reason to believe complete success would have crowned our efforts."'

So much for Nelson. The criticism on Troubridge's conduct is even more interesting.

'Troubridge's failure to act at once upon his own judgement and seize the heights above the fort, instead of waiting until he could

communicate with the admiral, whereby were lost more than three invaluable hours, excites surprise, in view of the extremely high value set upon him as an officer by St. Vincent and Nelson; and it is the more singular because the latter, in certain "Recommendations," dated July 17, had indicated the heights, as well as the fort, among the objects to be secured. It is, of course, possible that these Recommendations were not given out; but even so, the formal orders issued gave ample discretion. This hesitation was wholly contrary to Nelson's own readiness to assume responsibility, and probably accounts for his subsequent remark, in a private letter, that had he himself been present this first attempt would not have failed. Occurring in an officer of Troubridge's high standing, and contrasted with Nelson's action at St. Vincent, as well as on many other occasions, the incident serves to bring out forcibly the characteristic eminence of the latter,—the distinction between a really great captain and the best type of a simply accomplished and gallant officer. It may safely be said that had Nelson been in the frigates that morning, and thought as Troubridge thought, he would either have had the heights without waiting for orders, or, to use his own words on a former occasion, would have "been in a confounded scrape."'

Troubridge's fame is very dear to us, and it is not likely that this weighty criticism will pass without question. It is, of course, easy to dissent from it in words; not so easy in thought or in judgement. On many occasions Troubridge showed himself an 'accomplished and gallant officer' of the 'best type,' an admirable second, quick to grasp a situation, and to carry out the plans of his commander-in-chief with intelligence and vigour. That he was 'a really great captain' was never proved; there are no facts which can be arrayed in opposition to the estimate we have just quoted.

Captain Mahan rightly considers Nelson's defeat at Teneriffe, the loss of his arm and more distinctly his leaving England with his flag in the 'Vanguard,' in the April of 1798, as marking the natural division of his career. Before this he had been serving in a purely subordinate capacity; and though opportunities had come to him and been seized, though during the last five years he had made himself known and talked about in the service, it was only within the last year that his capture of the two Spanish ships had rendered his name famous, and then rather as that of a scatter-brained desperado, who had rashly dared and been strangely favoured by fortune—a view which his failure at Teneriffe seemed to support. This was the type of man the vulgar more especially worshipped. No careful plans, no strokes of genius for them. 'Go at 'em!' 'A peerage or Westminster Abbey!'—a stupid invention of a later date—were the ideals of the

streets. Those who had observed and appreciated the man's real merit were few, though happily some of them—St. Vincent and Gilbert Elliot—were in a position to speak with authority and effect. It would be deeply interesting if we could learn, with any assurance, the estimate which Nelson's brother officers had formed of him. There are indications that to many he seemed a wild, perhaps half-crazy enthusiast. A young officer of the 'Excellent,' a protégé of Collingwood's, wrote, a few days after the disaster at Teneriffe, 'It is a pity 'such a rash man as Admiral Nelson should have a command; 'but I am in hopes that the loss of his arm will hinder him 'from taking any command again this war.' * As the opinions of a young officer are seldom anything more than a reflex version of his seniors, it may be assumed that this—though more crudely stated—was essentially the opinion of Collingwood, who had had better opportunities than most men of estimating Nelson's capacity as an officer. But Collingwood was a thoroughly commonplace man, to whom, to the last, Nelson's character was an inscrutable riddle.

With the new chapter that was now opening, Nelson, in a higher rank, was to have greater opportunities, and to rise to a height of glory unparalleled in naval war.

'But it was not only in the greatness of the opportunities offered to Nelson that external conditions now changed. The glory of the hero brought a temptation which wrecked the happiness of the man. The loss of serenity, the dark evidences of inward conflict, of yielding against conviction, of consequent dissatisfaction with self and gradual deterioration, make between his past and future a break as clear, and far sharper than, the startling increase of radiancy that attends the battle of the Nile, and thenceforth shines with undiminished intensity to the end. The lustre of his well-deserved and world-wide renown, the consistency and ever-rising merit of his professional conduct, contrast painfully with the shadows of reprobation, the swerving, and the declension, which begin to attend a life heretofore conformed, in the general, to healthy normal standards of right and wrong, but now allowed to violate, not merely ideal Christian rectitude, but the simple, natural dictates of upright dealing between man and man. It had been the proud boast of early years: "There is no action in my whole life but what is honourable." The attainment of glory exceeding even his own great aspirations coincides with dereliction from the plain rules of honour between friends, and with public humiliation to his wife, which he allowed himself to inflict, notwithstanding that he admitted her claims to his deferential consideration to be unbroken. In this contrast, of the exaltation of the hero and the patriot with the degradation of the man, lie the tragedy and the misery of Nelson's

* Nelson and his Companions in Arms, by J. K. Laughton, p. 81.

story. And this, too, was incurred on behalf of a woman whose reputation and conduct were such that no shred of dignity could attach to an infatuation as doting as it was blameable. The pitiful inadequacy of the temptation to the ruin that it caused invests with a kind of prophecy the words he had written to his betrothed in the heyday of courtship: "These I trust will ever be my sentiments; if they are not, I do verily believe it will be my *folly* that occasions it."

'The inward struggle, though severe, was short and decisive. Once determined on his course, he choked down scruples and hesitations, and cast them from him with the same single-minded resolution that distinguished his public acts. "Fixed as fate," were the remorseless words with which he characterised his firm purpose to trample conscience under foot, and to reject his wife in favour of his mistress. But although ease may be obtained by silencing self-reproach, safety scarcely can. One cannot get the salt out of his life, and not be the worse for it. Much that made Nelson so lovable remained to the end; but into his heart, as betrayed by his correspondence, and into his life, from the occasional glimpses afforded by letters or journals of associates, there thenceforth entered much that is unlovely, and which to no appreciable extent was seen before. The simple *bonhomie*, the absence of conventional reticence, the superficial lack of polish, noted by his early biographers, and which he had had no opportunity to acquire, the childlike vanity that transpires so innocently in his confidential home letters, and was only the weak side of his noble longing for heroic action, degenerated rapidly into loss of dignity of life, into an unseemly susceptibility to extravagant adulation, as he succumbed to surroundings, the corruptness of which none at first realised more clearly, and where one woman was the sole detaining fascination. And withal, as the poison worked, discontent with self bred discontent with others, and with his own conditions. Petulance and querulousness too often supplanted the mental elasticity, which had counted for naught the roughnesses on the road to fame. The mind not worthily occupied, and therefore ill at ease, became embittered, prone to censure and to resent, suspicious at times and harsh in judgement, gradually tending towards alienation, not from his wife only, but from his best and earliest friends.'

The criticism is severe—harsh, it may seem; unsympathetic; but is it not just? Have we not been too much in the habit of shutting our eyes to the facts? of imagining Nelson as a man apart, for whom the ordinary laws of society and morality were suspended? 'In the contrast of the 'exaltation of the hero and the patriot with the degradation 'of the man, lie the tragedy and the misery of Nelson's 'story.' No Englishman could have written these lines. Had he tried to do so, he would have made them brutal in the attempt to be candid; he would have lost sense of proportion, and in the grossness of the sin have forgotten the greatness and splendour of the sinner. It is, however,

of Nelson as 'the embodiment of the sea power of Great 'Britain' that we are here mainly concerned; it is of the personal characteristics out of which were born the glorious achievements that we have now to speak.

The campaign which culminated in the battle of the Nile was Nelson's first independent command; strategically and tactically there was a neatness and finish about the work which mark it as a masterpiece; the scale of it was not too large to destroy the unities; and it may be held as opening a new era in naval war. It has thus been a favourite subject for discussion, and the details of it are presumably familiar to most readers. It may, nevertheless, be well to recall attention to the care which Nelson took in preparing for the result. It was, in fact, so thorough, so continuous, so minute, that the statements, authoritative as they are, have been doubted by many. This is Captain Mahan's view of it:—

'Nelson's own mind was, by constant preoccupation, familiar beforehand with the bearings of the different conditions of any situation likely to occur, and with the probable inferences to be drawn; his opinions were, so to say, in a constant state of formation and developement, ready for instantaneous application to any emergency as it arose. But he had, besides, exercised the same habit in the captains of the ships, by the practice of summoning them on board the flagship, singly or in groups; the slow movement of sailing vessels, particularly in the light summer weather of the Mediterranean, permitting such intercourse without materially affecting the progress of the fleet. Invitations or commands so to visit the flagship were common. "I have passed the day on board the 'Vanguard,'" notes Saumarez on one occasion, "having breakfasted and stayed to dinner with the admiral." "It was his practice during the whole of his cruize," wrote Berry, the flag-captain, "whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the 'Vanguard,' where he would fully develope to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, in all possible positions." That such conversations were not confined to tactical questions, but extended to what would now be called the strategy of the situation, is evident from allusions by Saumarez to the various surmises concerning the probable movements of the enemy. Nelson never yielded a particle of his responsibility, nor of his credit, but it is clear that such discussion would not only broaden his own outlook, but prepare his subordinates to give readier and sounder views upon any new conjuncture that might arise.'

And to this he has been enabled, by the present Lord de Saumarez, to add a copy of the opinion written by Sir James Saumarez, on board the 'Vanguard,' on June 22:—

'The French fleet having left Malta six days ago, had their destination been the Island of Sicily there is reason to presume we should

have obtained information of it yesterday off Syracuse, or the day before in coming through the Faro of Messina. Under all circumstances I think it most conducive to the good of his Majesty's service to make the best of our way for Alexandria, as the only means of saving our possessions in India, should the French armament be destined for that country.'

If, after this, anyone chooses to say that the battle of the Nile was fought in a haphazard, helter-skelter style, or on the sudden inspiration of Nelson or of anyone else, on his own head be the guilt.

It would be impossible, within the necessary limitation of space, to follow Captain Mahan in his detailed criticisms on the several incidents of the chase and the battle. We will therefore only note, in reference to points that have been much discussed, that he thinks the refusal to chase the three French frigates, seen on the morning of June 22, judicious. Nelson had no frigates. To have detached ships of the line on this duty would have risked scattering the squadron: to have chased in a united body would have been following a delusive phantom. Concentration of purpose, singleness of aim, was more than ever necessary, now that time pressed and a decision had been reached. He thinks that to speak of standing to the north towards the coast of Asia Minor, on finding that the French were not in Alexandria or on the coast of Egypt, as a mistake, is 'to be wise 'after the event.' Nelson's information was that, on leaving Malta, the French had six days start of him. Actually they had but three. 'It is not wonderful,' says Captain Mahan, 'that he failed to believe that he could have gained six days.' We may add that the words in Berry's 'Narrative'—'Nelson's idea was first to secure the victory, and then to 'make the most of it according to future circumstances'—which have been denounced as something very near nonsense, are distinctly approved by Captain Mahan. 'The 'expression,' he says, 'is so luminous that it can scarcely be 'doubted that the words are substantially those of the admiral 'himself. First, the great combination, which necessarily, for 'the moment, neglects a part of the enemy in order to dis-'concert and overwhelm the rest; afterwards, the unremitting 'pursuit, which completes the triumph.' And he refers to Nelson's instructions to the captains of the 'Phœbe' and 'Amazon' in 1804, on the possibility of their falling in with two French frigates. They were not each to single out and attack an opponent, but both together to endeavour to take 'one frigate; if successful, chase the other: but if you do not

'take the second, still you have won a victory, and your coun-
'try will gain a frigate;' which, being summarised, amounts to
'Victory first; afterwards, the results, as circumstances may
'permit.' Following this train of thought, Captain Mahan goes on to discuss the question whether the most was made of the victory. It is familiarly known that Nelson was, himself, not quite satisfied.

'I regret,' he wrote to Lord Minto, 'that one escaped, and I think, if it had pleased God that I had not been wounded, not a boat would have escaped to have told the tale; but do not believe that any individual in the fleet is to blame. In my conscience, I believe greater exertions could not have been, and I only mean to say, that if my experience could in person have directed those exertions of individuals, there was every appearance that Almighty God would have continued to bless my endeavours.'

And some months later, he wrote to Lord Howe, 'Had it
'pleased God that I had not been wounded and stone blind,
'there cannot be a doubt but that every ship would have been
'in our possession.' On which Captain Mahan comments:—

'Whether the result would or would not have equalled his belief, the traces are clear that what was wanted, during the remainder of that eventful night, was just that concord of action which the head imparts to the members. Messages went from ship to ship, captains consulted together and proposed to move together, and did move separately; there was no lack of good-will, nor, as Nelson says, of exertion; but men were not quite sure of what the other man would do, and felt no authority to command him; and there was hesitation over risks, and cautious delays about soundings and shaky spars, which, the author is persuaded, would not have deterred Nelson in such conditions, where victory was decisive, though not yet complete.'

And yet, in the eyes of England and the world, the victory was the most complete that had ever been won. Of the thirteen French ships of the line, two only escaped, and those were captured within eighteen months by ships under Nelson's orders; whilst the effect on the campaign—on the posture of affairs in Egypt and Syria—was as decisive as if every single ship had been taken or burnt in Aboukir Bay. Of this overwhelming result from the strategical and political points of view Captain Mahan has spoken at length in his 'Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and 'Empire,' and here only briefly refers to it. He dwells, however, on the importance of the continued blockade of these eastern shores, and seems to imply that there, after refitting his shattered ships, Nelson ought to have been in person. He

refers, indeed, to the Admiralty orders sent through St. Vincent, to consider the coasts of Sicily and Naples as his first care, the blockade of Egypt and Malta as subsidiary, though important: but he discusses the question as though the relative importance had been reversed. It may be well, therefore, to call attention to the stringency of the orders, dated from the Admiralty, October 3:—

'In the present state of affairs in the Mediterranean, their Lordships conceive that the objects principally to be attended to by the squadron employed there are: first, the protection of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and the Adriatic, and in the event of war being renewed in Italy, an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. Secondly, the cutting off all communication between France and Egypt, that neither supplies nor reinforcements may be sent to the army at Alexandria. Thirdly, the blocking up of Malta, so as to prevent provisions from being sent into it. . . . The protection of the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies, are the objects to which a principal part of the squadron should be most particularly directed. . . . Your Lordship [St. Vincent] will give such directions to the officer commanding the squadron in the Mediterranean as may be necessary for carrying effectually into execution these instructions, in which, however, from the nature of his situation, and from the uncertainty of events which may occur, much must of necessity be left to his discretion. But he should be particularly directed, in every possible situation, to give the most cordial and unlimited support and protection to His Majesty's allies, to exert himself to the utmost to preserve a good intelligence between them, and most carefully to avoid giving to any of them the smallest cause for suspicion, jealousy, or offence.'*

Captain Mahan has certainly not overlooked these very 'particular directions,' but he has curiously minimised their meaning, and infers, or allows it to be inferred, that Nelson was led into neglecting the first objects of his care—Egypt and Malta—by his infatuation for Lady Hamilton. His contention is that

'Nelson's opinion as to the direction of his personal supervision underwent a decisive change after his arrival in Naples. Before it, he is urgent with that Court to support with active naval assistance the operations against Malta, and to send bomb-vessels, the absence of which he continually deplores, to shell the transports in the harbour of Alexandria. He hopes, indeed, to find on his arrival that the Emperor and many other powers are at war with the French, but his attention is concentrated upon Bonaparte's army.'

* Nicolas's 'Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson,' vol. iii. pp. 143–4.

His arrival at Naples is then described; his meeting with Lady Hamilton and the way in which she took possession of him.

'On October 15 Nelson sailed from Naples for Malta in the "Vanguard" with three ships-of-the-line. He still felt, with accurate instinct, that Egypt and the Ionian Islands, with Malta, constituted the more purely maritime interests, in dealing with which the fleet would most further the general cause, and he alludes frequently to his wish to attend to them. . . . On November 5 he returned to Naples.'

After this, and for the next eighteen months, his headquarters were at Naples and Palermo. He had received the Admiralty orders of October 3—the date is not mentioned, but probably towards the end of October—and was by them 'particularly directed' to do so. They, of themselves, are sufficient reason for the apparent change in Nelson's estimate on which Captain Mahan has dwelt. In judging that this second estimate was wrong, he seems to ignore the stringency of the orders under which Nelson acted. No doubt, as time—and no very long time—went on, obedience to these particular orders had an additional pleasure. No one will venture to assert that Nelson's conduct at this time was single-minded; but it is difficult to see that the service suffered in its practical part, though the scandal of the life at Palermo was degrading to Nelson's character and lowering to his influence. Still, and here we are again in perfect accord with the author—

'Nelson's unwearying mental energy, and keen sense of the necessity of seizing opportunity, did not allow things to lapse into indolence. Whether or not he was well advised to settle himself at Palermo, aware as he must have been of the actual temptation, and of the serious injury that scandal was doing to his reputation, both professional and personal, may admit of doubt. With numerous detached and minor services carrying on at the same moment, there was much to be said for the commander-in-chief remaining in a fixed position, near the centre of affairs; and in his apprehension everything then revolved about the kingdom of Naples. There can be no question, however, that all his faculties were constantly on the alert; and that his administration of the station until Keith's return was characterised by the same zeal, sagacity, and politic tact that he had shown in earlier days. It is admirable to note the patience, courtesy, and adroit compliment he brings into play, to kindle, in those over whom he has no direct control, the ardour for the general good, and the fearlessness of responsibility, which actuate himself; and at the same time to observe how severe the strain was upon his nervous and irritable temper, as betrayed in comments upon these very persons, made in private letters which he never expected would see the light.'

By this time, however, another factor has to be taken into account—his intense jealousy of Keith, the feeling that wrong had been done him in sending Keith out to resume the command. That this, more than his passion for 'Emma,' was the cause of his gross disobedience of orders in July 1799 and of his insubordinate conduct in the spring of 1800, there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who has carefully examined his correspondence at this period. It is impossible to suppose that this was not fully understood by his brother officers and by his superiors at the Admiralty; but it was probably thought that it would be less hurtful to the service to allow it to be believed that 'the woman' was in fault, rather than that the great admiral was grievously sinning against every code of discipline. Lord Spencer's letter of May 9, 1800, desiring him to return to England if the state of his health prevented him from attending to the active duties of his command, is a model of plain meaning veiled by delicate tact; but that Nelson's ill-health was, in the main, but another name for ill-temper, was shown by the quickness of his recovery as soon as he got away from the detested Keith, and by his ability, on arriving in England, to report himself at once as ready for any duty to which he might be appointed. His stay at home was thus short, but it was long enough for two incidents which deeply affected the remainder of his life: the quarrel with his wife, from whom he separated in anger, and the birth of Horatia—

'whose parentage for a long time gave rise to much discussion, and is even yet considered by some a matter of doubt. Fortunately, that question requires no investigation here; as regards the Life of Nelson, and his character as involved in this matter, the fact is beyond dispute that he believed himself the father, and Lady Hamilton the mother, of the girl, whose origin he sought to conceal by an elaborate though clumsy system of mystification. This might possibly have left the subject covered with clouds, though not greatly in doubt, had not Lady Hamilton, after wildly unnecessary lying on her own part, recklessly preserved her holdings of a correspondence which Nelson scrupulously destroyed and enjoined her to destroy.'

To this concealment, so contrary to his natural and acquired character, he was driven by his care for Lady Hamilton's reputation and his own also. At Naples and at Palermo he had lived in the house of Hamilton, who to the end professed for him unbounded esteem and confidence. This confidence had been betrayed, and Captain Mahan rightly adds, 'The strongest line of argument formerly advanced, by those who disputed Lady Hamilton's being

'the mother of the child, has become now Nelson's severest 'condemnation.'

In his former work on the French Revolution, Captain Mahan discussed at considerable length the important share which Nelson had in determining the operations in the Sound, as well as in the more brilliant episode of the battle of Copenhagen. To this discussion he adds nothing from the technical point of view, considering the campaign more purely from the personal; but he gives an anecdote which he has dug out of that unindexed quarry the 'Naval Chronicle.' As the fleet left England, Sir Hyde Parker, whether from his old recollections of Nelson in the Mediterranean, or from having heard of his later conduct towards Keith, showed much coolness in his manner, and an unwillingness to let Nelson know his plans. As they were passing over the Dogger Bank, Layman, one of the lieutenants of the 'St. George,' happened to remark in Nelson's hearing that he had seen turbot caught there. This suggested to Nelson that he, too, might catch one, and having done so, he sent it as a present to the commander-in-chief, who, being at bottom a man of kindly nature, was soothed by the attention. It must have been in the following year that

'At Merton Mr. Layman told Lord Nelson that a man eminent in the naval profession had said to him, "Do tell me how Parker came to take the laurel from his own brow, and place it on Nelson's?" "What did you say?" asked Nelson. "That it was not a gift," replied Layman, "as your Lordship had gained the victory by a turbot." "A turbot!" "Yes, my Lord, I well recollect your great desire to catch a turbot, and your astonishing many, by insisting upon its being immediately sent to Sir Hyde, who condescended to return a civil note; without which opening your Lordship would not have been consulted in the Cattegat, and without such intercourse your Lordship would not have got the detached squadron; without which there would not have been any engagement, and consequently no victory." Lord Nelson smilingly said, "You are right."'

Whether Nelson's resolution to fight the battle to an end, in spite of Parker's signal to 'Cease firing,' was or was not an act of disobedience, Captain Mahan will not say positively, though he inclines to think that it was. It is quite certain that no previous agreement or want of agreement would have affected Nelson's conduct. His whole career had shown him ever ready to take the responsibility of disobedience, if the orders militated with his own conviction. And in this instance he was undoubtedly right.

'Never,' says Captain Mahan, 'was disobedience more justified, more

imperative, more glorious. To retire, with crippled ships and mangled crews, through difficult channels, under the guns of the half-beaten foe, who would renew his strength when he saw the movement, would be to court destruction,—to convert probable victory into certain, and perhaps overwhelming, disaster. It was not, however, only in superiority of judgement or of fighting quality that Nelson in this one act towered like a giant above his superior; it was in that supreme moral characteristic which enabled him to shut his eyes to the perils and doubts surrounding the only path by which he could achieve success, and save his command from a defeat verging on annihilation.'

It has been very much the custom to represent the battle as won by downright hard fighting and nothing else. This was not the case, and the contention, though quite in keeping with the popular estimate of Nelson's character, is inaccurate. From the first understanding of the enemy's position, Nelson had pointed out that, as 'the great strength 'of the enemy was at the head of the line, supported by the 'Crown Battery, his Lordship emphatically observed that to 'begin the attack there would be like taking a bull by the 'horns, and he therefore suggested the attempt by the tail.' And it was not only that the northern part of the enemy's line of defence was the stronger:—

'The southern wing was much more exposed. Nor was this all. An advance from the north must be made with a northerly wind. If unsuccessful, or even, in case of success, if ships were badly crippled, they could not return to the north, where the fleet was. On the other hand, attack from the south presupposed a southerly wind, with which, after an action, the engaged ships could rejoin the fleet, if they threaded safely the difficult navigation.'

But they were not unsuccessful. The victory was won, though the strongest part of the enemy's defence—the Three Crowns Battery—was never seriously engaged. 'We are 'quite beaten,' wrote Niebuhr the historian, then residing at Copenhagen. 'Our line of defence is destroyed. The re-'maining half of our defences are useless, now that the right 'wing is broken.' 'The result,' says Captain Mahan, 'was 'due to Nelson's sagacious and emphatic advice as to the 'direction and manner of the attack, by which the strong 'points of the Danish positions were completely and unex-'pectedly turned.'

Captain Mahan's earlier writings have shown that he considers Nelson more distinctly than Wellington as the foil to Napoleon; that, in fact, Napoleon was crushed by the sea power of which Nelson was the embodiment. He seems always at his best when tracing the antagonism of the two,

or marking some correspondence in their opinions or conduct. In illustration of this he quotes an anecdote, related by Mr. Addington,

'of the manner in which Nelson exemplified his ideas of the proper mode of negotiating with Bonaparte. "It matters not at all," he said, taking up a poker, "in what way I lay this poker on the floor. But if Bonaparte shall say it must be placed in this direction," suiting the action to the word, "we must instantly insist upon its being laid in some other one." At the same time Bonaparte, across the Channel, was illustrating in almost identical phrase the indomitable energy that was common to these two men, the exponents of the two opposing and irreconcilable tendencies of their age. "If the British ministry should intimate that there was anything the First Consul had not done, because he was prevented from doing it, that instant he would do it." '

He has taken pains both previously and in the present work to dwell on the several occasions in which the two men were brought in direct opposition to each other, and to work out in detail the frustration of Bonaparte's designs by the genius, energy and care of Nelson. He has shown how the invasion of Egypt, the possible hope of founding an Oriental empire, rivalling or excelling that of Timour or of Aurungzebe, was brought to nought by the battle of the Nile and its direct consequence, the failure of Bonaparte before Saint Jean d'Acre.* Again, he has pointed out, as a singular coincidence, that just as Nelson had been sent, in what seemed a fortuitous manner, into the Mediterranean to accomplish this great work, so, having finished it, he returned to England —not by the design of the Government, but in consequence of incidents personally deplorable—at the very time when his services were needed in the Baltic to break up the formidable coalition against English interests which Bonaparte had been able to form.† It was not so much the Danes who were defeated at Copenhagen as Bonaparte's projects which were struck down. And now, on the renewal of the war after the short peace of 1802, Nelson was again sent to the Mediterranean, this time of set purpose, to watch the French fleet at Toulon and, as it subsequently appeared, to play the principal part in the utter subversion of Napoleon's deep-laid scheme for the invasion of England. All this has so often been described in fact and misunderstood in intention, that it is worth following in some detail the remarkable plan

* Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, vol. i. pp. 324–6.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 37.

which Napoleon had formed, and the manner in which it fell to pieces before the straightforward and unflinching policy of Nelson. It was not that he had a clear understanding of Napoleon's project; but that he had a fixed resolve to prevent the execution of it, whatever it was:—

'A man dealing with Napoleon was bound to meet perplexities innumerable, to thread a winding and devious track, branching out often into false trails that led nowhere, and confused by cross-lights which glittered only to mislead. In such a case, as in the doubtful paths of common life, the only sure guide to a man's feet is principle; and Nelson's principle was the destruction of the French fleet. No other interest, his own least of all, could divert him from it. For it he was willing not only to sacrifice fortune, but to risk renown; and so, amid troubles manifold, he walked steadfastly in the light of the single eye.'

It was as if he took for his guidance in great affairs the rule which—years before, in a fit of ill-temper—he had proposed to Captain Louis for his personal conduct: 'There is no 'way of dealing with a Frenchman but to knock him down.' Whither the French were bound if they could get away from Toulon, he neither knew nor could find out. Sicily, the Morea, Egypt, all seemed probable points of attack; Ireland or the West Indies, quite as likely. 'Go where they may,' he wrote as early as August 25–6, 1803, 'I am determined to 'follow them. I shall follow them to the Antipodes.' So again, a year later, September 6, 1804, he wrote to Ball:—

'I can solemnly assure you, that I am a poorer man than the day I was ordered to the Mediterranean command, by upwards of 1,000*l.*; but money I despise, except as it is useful, and I expect my Prize-money is embarked in the Toulon fleet. I should think, now the Russians are getting so large a Naval force into the Mediterranean, that the Toulon fleet will not think of going to the eastward. I should rather think the West Indies more likely for them to succeed in. Suppose this fleet escapes, and gets out of the Straits, I rather think I should bend my course to the westward; for if they carry 7,000 men—with what they have at Martinique and Guadeloupe—St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, and St. Kitts would fall, and, in that case, England would be so clamorous for peace, that we should humble ourselves. What do you think? Tell me. I have weighed Ireland against the West Indies. With me the latter throws the beam up to the ceiling; but I may be wrong. It is at best but a guess, and the world attaches wisdom to him that guesses right.'

'This'—says Captain Mahan—'is a noteworthy passage, for it shows great sagacity of prediction, and, in announcing beforehand his resolve,—of which this is not the sole previous mention,—it dispels entirely the idea that he was decoyed to the West Indies. It explains, also, the remarkable outburst of gratitude that hailed him on his return from a chase which had been wholly unsuccessful as regards

his own chief object—the annihilation of the French fleet. He had failed to find it, but he had driven the enemy out of the West Indies before they could do any serious injury to the vital interests of the country. A man cannot be said to be decoyed, because, in pursuance of a judgement deliberately formed beforehand, he does the thing which the moment demands; unless it can be shown that he has thereby uncovered greater interests. This Nelson did not do. He saved the West Indies, and returned in time to protect Great Britain and Ireland from invasion.'

We wish we could agree with the author in believing that this and similar sentences from Nelson's correspondence entirely 'dispel the idea that he was decoyed to the West 'Indies.' We know that they do not. They have been often quoted in the same connexion, but the idea remains as firmly fixed as ever in the minds of many of our countrymen, who continue, and will continue, to say that Nelson's being 'decoyed' to the West Indies exposed the country to a very great danger, from which it escaped only by a piece of unexpected and undeserved good fortune. Nelson himself, of course, never had any such idea. Owing to 'General 'Brereton's damned information' he had missed Villeneuve off Dominica, where he had hoped to catch him. He fretted, fumed, and swore over the disappointment, but otherwise his mind was at ease. 'My opinion,' he wrote, 'is firm as a 'rock that some cause, orders or inability to perform any 'service in these seas, has made them—the French—resolve 'to proceed direct for Europe;' and that being the case, he knew that they could not outstrip pursuit by long enough to do much harm.

'The harassing fear, which he had borne through the long beat down the Mediterranean and the retarded voyage to Martinique, had now disappeared. Going out he had gained ten days upon the allies; they had only five days' start of him in the return. He recognised, moreover, the great significance of their inactivity during the three weeks they had the Windward Islands, if not all the West Indies, defenceless before them. "If they were not able to make an attack for three weeks after their arrival, they could not hope for greater success after our means of resistance increased, and their means of offence were diminished." If this consideration, on the one hand, showed the improbability of their proceeding against Jamaica, after Nelson's coming, when they had not ventured before, it gave also an inkling of their probable efficiency for immediate action in Europe. "They will not give me credit for quitting the West Indies for a month to come;" therefore it was unlikely that they would think it necessary to proceed at once upon their next enterprise, after reaching port. "I must not despair of getting up with them before they enter the Straits," he writes Elliot. "At least, they will have no time

to carry any of their future plans into execution, and do harm to any of the countries under my charge." If his thirst for glory was unslaked, his fears of disaster had disappeared.'

Nelson believed that the allies were bound into the Mediterranean; he thought it possible they might rather make Ferrol. In either case he saw no reason to anticipate danger. As a matter of fact, he joined the squadron off Cadiz four days before Villeneuve was met by Calder off Cape Finistère, and, though not crushed, so handled as to make it imperative on him to put into Vigo and Corunna. Before he could attempt to carry out his orders Nelson had judged his intentions and had joined his squadron to that of Cornwallis off Brest.

Trafalgar is often spoken of as the decisive action of the campaign. It was, indeed, the decisive action of the war, the action which firmly established England's sea power, and determined the whole course of the future, leading to Moscow and Waterloo as inevitable consequences. But the turning point of the campaign of 1805, the incident which put an end to Napoleon's scheme for the invasion of England, and broke up the camp of Boulogne, was the tactically indecisive engagement off Cape Finistère. It was this that convinced Villeneuve of his inability to force his way to the north, and was the proximate cause of his retreat to Cadiz. It was on the news of this retreat that Napoleon broke up the camp and led his army into Germany, hoping for a more favourable opportunity, against which Nelson, in his glorious death, sufficiently provided. 'His body is buried in peace, but his 'Name liveth for evermore.' 'Sharer of our mortal weakness, 'he has bequeathed to us a type of single-minded self-'devotion that can never perish.'

ART. V.—1. *The Preservation of Open Spaces, and of Footpaths and other Rights of Way.* By Sir ROBERT HUNTER, M.A., Solicitor to the Post Office; formerly Honorary Solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society. London: 1896.

2. *English Commons and Forests: The Story of the Battle during the last Thirty Years for Public Rights over the Commons and Forests of England and Wales.* By the Right Hon. G. SHAW LEFEVRE. London: 1894.

3. *Commons and Common Fields; or, the History and Policy of the Laws relating to Commons and Enclosures in England.* By THOMAS EDWARD SCRUTTON, M.A., LL.B. Cambridge: 1887.

4. *Domesday Book and Beyond.* Three Essays in the Early History of England. By FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND, LL.D., Downing Professor in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: 1897.

AT the close of a century and of a reign of unexampled length, it is natural that men should pause, and, looking back, endeavour to estimate the general results of the movements of the age. It is one of press and motion, little tending under ordinary circumstances to the just weighing of events, since incidents, even those which are trivial, loom large before the public mind for a moment, and thus often gain a permanent importance which they should not possess. Single events rather than sequences of incidents are noticed, and we may thus easily overlook the general course of national movements.

For a little over thirty-five years the attention of the country has been frequently drawn to occurrences in connexion with English commons, but it is doubtful if any complete appreciation has been formed of the general nature and results of these incidents, sometimes of a social, sometimes of a legal, and sometimes of a legislative character. Broadly stated, there has been for this period a national movement of a distinct character in favour of the preservation, as permanent places of public enjoyment and use, of the commons which are scattered over the country. Lords of manors have been taken to task for employing an ancient statute to enable them to take possession of common land for their own benefit. But the public enjoyment of many commons has lately been secured by means of legal princi-

ples, which were never intended to produce the fortunate results which they have for the public in this modern movement. That is to say, the proof of customs of an agricultural and profitable nature—such, for example, as that of the inhabitants of a particular locality, the commoners of the manor, to graze sheep on a particular piece of open ground—has enabled the public generally to obtain the enjoyment of commons for purposes of health and recreation. This, however desirable, cannot be regarded as the natural and primary result of establishing commoners' rights; it is, in truth, a consequence which could at one time never have been foreseen.

It would, however, be a mistake to limit a view of this subject to modern times, since, without going into unreasonable details, it is possible to give shortly a fairly accurate idea of its early history and thus to realise—which is by no means easy to-day—the former universality of the system of commons and common fields in England. The difficulty of the subject arises, not from any uncertainty as to the condition of commons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for then we find wastes and forests over which certain persons—commoners—had definite rights as of pasturage, and common fields tilled under well-known customs, and lords of manors in whom the soil was vested, but in discovering the origin of these common rights. Two opposing theories are to be found in regard to them. The one—the legal, or, as it has been called, the Blackstonian theory—supposes that rights of common arose out of grants subsequent to the Norman Conquest: 'As the lord of the manor is the absolute lord of the soil in his manor, all the rights which the freeholders and copyholders in the manor enjoy depended originally on the grant or mere will and suffrance of the lord.' This is essentially the basis on which for centuries the English lawyers raised all sorts of legal structures, and on which the judgements of the courts rested. The other theory, arising out of historical researches,

'is based upon the conception of the Mark or Teutonic Village Community of Freemen, cultivating and owning their land in common. This theory was originated in Germany by Von Maurer, applied to England by Freeman, Kemble, and Nasse, and elucidated by the Indian, Slavonic, and Irish investigations of Sir Henry Maine. It finds the beginnings of economic history in the self-governing community of freemen, owning their land in common and cultivating it by customary rules. It professes to trace the degeneration of this community through the aggrandisement or ancestral superiority of one of its own members, who ultimately becomes its lord.' (Scrutton, p. 8.)

But this theory has been severely criticised by other writers, notably in this country by Mr. Seebohm, who has clearly shown that long before the Norman Conquest a system of agriculture existed, in some parts of England at least, in form manorial. It is to be observed that this intermediate theory, if it may be so called, is at any rate destructive of what has been termed the legal theory of the origin of the rights of common, whilst it does not establish that of the German writers. In truth, it is pretty obvious that we must guard ourselves against evolving too precise and definite theories, for undoubtedly great misconceptions have arisen by the wholesale acceptance for years of the theory of the mediæval lawyers that rights of common arose out of grants from lords to their tenants, and from the false idea that the Norman Conquest marks a cleavage in the English land system. On the other hand, because we may regard it as probable that in many instances rights of common of pasture and the cultivation by several persons of common fields were survivals in some localities from an age in which villagers cultivated and used their land in common, we must not on that account leave out of sight a practice by lords even in Saxon times of granting rights in the common fields to tenants or inferior persons, with which grants went also rights over the waste. We must accept the fact that there existed before the Conquest a system under which a thane owned what was subsequently called the lord's demesne, and tenants at his will cultivated their common fields, and worked, when required, on the lord's land; and we should be satisfied with those facts which can be proved, even though they leave the origin of rights to common land before the tenth century in an indefinite state. They indicate the existence of defined village communities, but the actual position of these bodies is left much in the dark; in some cases they may have been almost completely free, in others those who formed them may have been little better than slaves. The further light which has been thrown on this question by the careful investigations of Professor F. W. Maitland, the latest result of whose inquiries is stated in the volume which he has called 'Domesday Book and 'Beyond,' serves to emphasise the statement already made, that it is undesirable to formulate general theories in regard to the early system of land-owning in England. It is more than ever clear from this book that there were villages which were occupied by freemen, who were free from the obligation to render agricultural service to a lord—in other

words, that the manorial system was not universal. So far as regards the subject of common land, it is almost immaterial whether a village was free or dependent upon a lord who owned a demesne upon which the villagers, as they may be called, did villein service. 'For,' to quote Professor Maitland, 'we cannot doubt that the open field 'system of agriculture prevails as well in the free villages 'as in those that are under the control of the lord. The 'sokeman's hide or virgate is no ring-fenced close, but is 'compound of many scattered strips' (p. 142). And again, 'As to such part of the land as is not arable:—even in 'the free village a few enclosed meadows will probably 'be found, but the pasture land lies open for the cattle of the 'vill' (p. 143). It is impossible in this article to enter either into Professor Maitland's consideration of the German theory or into his refutation of Mr. Seebohm's conclusion that the villages of England before the Conquest were full of so-called villeins, and that the free village was a rare exception.

'Any theory of English history must face the free, the lordless village, and must account for it as for one of the normal phenomena which existed in the year of grace 1066. How common it was we shall never know until the material contained in Domesday Book has been geographically rearranged by counties, hundreds, and vills. But whether or no, it was normal, just as normal as the village which was completely subject to seignorial power.' (P. 141.)

It is enough for the present purpose that Professor Maitland gives full and sufficient reasons for his general conclusion that in Saxon England there was no free village community—that is, what in modern times would be called a corporation—but that there were villages filled with inhabitants each of whom possessed various individual rights, and that such villages were in some places servile in character, in other places free; and that, servile or free, there belonged to all, or most of them, the common fields and the common waste.

Again, for a long time after the Norman Conquest it is unsafe to generalise as to the exact status and position of those who had right in the common fields and in the wastes of the country. Let us take Mr. Seebohm's *résumé* of the Doomsday survey of the manor of Westminster:—

'The village which nestled round the new minster just completed by Edward the Confessor was on a manor of the abbot. It consisted of twenty-five houses of the abbot's immediate followers, nineteen homesteads of villani, forty-two cottages with their little gardens, and one of them with five acres of land. There was also the larger

homestead of the sub-manor of the abbot's under tenant, with a single cottage and a vineyard of four half-acres newly planted. There was meadow enough by the river side to make hay for the herd of oxen belonging to the dozen plough teams of the village, and pasture for them and other cattle. Further round the village in open fields were about one thousand acres of arable land, mostly in acre strips. Lastly, surrounding the whole on the land side were the woods where the swineherd found mast for the two hundred pigs of the place.' (English Village Communities, p. 98.)

In the general pasture land by the river and in the woodland waste we see the land which has survived to later generations in the so-called 'common.' In the villeins and the cottagers, who were also villeins, we see the most numerous class of commoners, as they afterwards became; but in the abbot's under tenant we also see a man who in time would become a free tenant with a large holding, and if any of the abbot's soldiers and servants turned, as some doubtless did after a while, into farmers, they probably became free tenants, with rights over the waste and in the fields. Thus there were undoubtedly village communities wholly composed of villeins who cultivated the common fields, not necessarily serfs, but men bound to do such work as was required of them on the lord's demesne, and had rights over the lord's waste; and there were free tenants of the manor who likewise had rights over the waste. These, broadly stated, so far as our present subject is concerned, gradually crystallised into well-understood individual rights over commons, which were waste lands, and in common cultivated fields, and in the lammas land, partly hayfields and partly pasture land. These same rights, at one time enjoyed largely by villeins in a state of non-freedom rather in regard to tenure than to civil status, and largely also, it seems clear, by freemen, gradually became vested in men who become wholly free as we emerge from mediævalism to the England of the sixteenth century.

In this process of transition in the thirteenth century the provision, or statute of Merton, as it is usually called, passed in 1236, so far as regards its influence on the relation of lords of manors and commoners, holds an important place. It is a step towards the clearer definition of individual rights, from barbarism to civilisation. For we must picture to ourselves an England of forests and wastes amidst which were scattered

'townships or vills of some extent, hamlets if of but a few houses gathered round one or more mansions of superior size and importance,

the manor houses or abodes of the lords of the respective manors. Round each township stretch the great ploughed fields, usually three in number, open and uninclosed.'

It defined proprietorial rights, for though it 'gave the lord 'a right to approve or make his profit out of it, and hence 'to inclose the waste land,' he was bound to leave sufficient pasture for the commoners.

Before this statute 'any single freeholder who had a right 'of commons had full power to prevent his lord from sub-'tracting from that right any part of the land over which it 'had been exercisable.'* It was impossible therefore in theory for the waste to be brought into cultivation by the lord, since over the whole of it the tenants of the manor had a right of common of pasture. When we realise the vast extent of the uncultivated land in these distant times it is obvious that the statute was intended to bring further parts of it into a more productive state without a diminution of the rights of those who were interested in it. It is not difficult also to realise how a legal theory that rights of common arise out of grants could originate in the working of this statute. A lord would grant to a deserving and landless follower a portion of the uncultivated land, with a view to its reclamation, together with a right of pasturage over the remainder of the waste in common with older tenants or villeins. Hence could originate a simple and convenient theory. It is obvious also that in order to decide if sufficient pasture was left to the commoners, the number of animals which they might place on the waste had to be ascertained, as well as the persons who were entitled to the right of pasturage. Thus the statute was clearly, in its primary action, as beneficial to the commoners as to the lord, since it obviously gave a species of title to existing commoners, and it was not in any sense a statute which was passed for the object of merely benefiting lords of manors. That in later years it over and over again became a means by which lords of manors infringed on the rights of commoners or lessened the access of the public to commons cannot be doubted, but for the moment we are concerned only with the statute of Merton when it became law. Then it was a statesmanlike measure rightly believed to be in the interests of national developement. But times changed, and the main object of inclosure came to be the profit of the lord, or his aggrandisement and pleasure, rather than the advantage of any other

* Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law,' p. 612.

class. Throughout the sixteenth century inclosure was a constant cause of popular discontent and of local uprisings.

'In every shire in England,' says a writer in 1577, 'there is great plentie of parks . . . where in time past many large and wealthy occupiers were dwelling within the compass of one park . . . there is now almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and savage beasts cherished for pleasure and delight, and yet some owners, still desirous to enlarge these grounds, do not let daily to take in more, not sparing the very commons whereupon many townships now and then do thrive.' (Harrison, 'Description of England,' bk. ii. ch. 19.)

What was to one age an evil has, however, become a benefit to another, since the very parks which were in one sense taken from the community of the locality in the sixteenth have become in many instances recreation grounds and places of public enjoyment in the nineteenth century. But equal, if not greater, discontent was caused by the inclosure of the common arable fields. The production and export of wool had become of extreme importance, and an extending commerce reacted on the rural parts of England by causing these common fields to be inclosed and turned into pasture lands for sheep. The works of writers in the sixteenth century are full of this evil, which of course caused great distress among the labourers. It was a movement in the direction of inclosure based on quite opposite grounds to those which were considered to justify inclosure in later times; it is illustrative, however, of the way in which every movement in regard to commons from the earliest times has been, in response to important national changes, either economical or social.

The aspect of the subject changes, however, when we reach more modern times. Speaking broadly we may say that with the reign of Queen Anne we enter on a period of inclosure under Acts of Parliament, as distinguished from inclosure by agreement of those interested, or under the authority of the statute of Merton, and this continued for a hundred and fifty years. That statute only gave power in certain contingencies to inclose the waste, it was not applicable to the inclosure of common fields, and it did not give a parliamentary title to the inclosure. As the century progressed inclosures under Act of Parliament multiplied exceedingly.

'Under Anne there had been only two Acts of Inclosure, comprising 1,439 acres; under George I. there were sixteen, comprising 17,660 acres; under George II. there were 226, comprising 318,778 acres; but, from the accession of George III. to the end of the year 1796, no

less than 1,532 Inclosure Acts were passed, including 2,804,197 acres.' (Lecky, 'History of England,' vi. 196.)

Intelligent public opinion was in favour of this change in the English land system, and it found approval and legislative sanction in an annual increase of Inclosure Acts. But we must be under no misapprehension as to the character of the movement; it was essentially economical in its inception; it was not in the least like that which has occurred in recent years in favour of the non-inclosure of open land, a movement based wholly on the benefits to the community at large. The movement of the Georgian era was as inevitable as the movement, somewhat different in character, which preceded it, and as that which has followed in our own day: each one was the result of changed conditions and of the national growth. Theoretical economists and practical men of business alike agreed that it was to the national advantage that the troublesome and unproductive system of common land should be replaced by one of individual ownership, and that the country should produce as much corn as possible. The earlier inclosure was to increase pasturage; the later object was the increase of arable land. This being so it was naturally stimulated by the Napoleonic wars, which caused so considerable a demand for the production of corn. Like all great social changes it produced hardships, and many small farmers and many villagers, who were very dependent on rights of common, were, as in previous centuries, deprived of them. It is true that in most cases each commoner was allotted a portion of land as his own property, but much of this individualised land was burdened by the costs of the inclosure, or was soon sold or mortgaged. Still the active and energetic husbandman, who had hitherto found himself hampered by an inconvenient system, and one which put the sluggard on an equality with the industrious man, welcomed the change.

'The system of open fields was wasteful, because of the numerous balks, and it presented obstacles to all improved methods of cultivation because the custom of the parish was so frequently binding on the farmers, or manorial pasture rights in stubble interfered with their management of the land. (Cunningham, 'Politics and Economics,' p. 212.)

And to quote again from Mr. Lecky—

'The cultivation of these lands appears to have been the worst, the most wasteful, and the most exhausting in England. The pasture land was usually of a wretched description, and often enormously

overstocked. Nothing was done for it in the way of draining or manure, and the greater part of common land appears to have been perfectly uncultivated and almost wholly unproductive. It has been estimated, probably without any exaggeration, that the inclosure and separate cultivation of the common land must have increased their produce at least fivefold' (vi. 195).

And the historian further points out that, in addition to the regular commoner,

'There were numerous squatters who had settled on these great wastes without any legal rights, and who obtained from them a scanty and precarious livelihood, and a large vagrant population of gipsies, tramps, poachers, smugglers, and nomadic mendicants found them an important element in their existence.'

The movement, causing sometimes hardships to commoners, sometimes depriving communities, whether towns or villages, of the means of recreation, but inevitable, and on the whole regarded with satisfaction, continued on the same lines until 1845, when the Inclosure Act, 1845, became law. This statute is noteworthy, because it is the first general Act to deal thoroughly with this subject, and because it emphasises the importance of inclosure as an economic principle, whilst it begins to recognise the growth of an open space movement, and the desirability of greater care for the rights of commoners and the enjoyment of the public.

'It is expedient,' runs the preamble, 'to facilitate the inclosure and improvement of commons and other lands now subject to rights of property which obstruct cultivation and the productive employment of labour, and to facilitate such exchanges of lands . . . as may be beneficial to the respective owners.'

Here we have formulated the principle of and reason for the Act. When we come to the body of the statute we find, however, sections which enact that no lands within fifteen miles of the City of London, within two miles of any town of 10,000 inhabitants, or within two miles and a half of any town of 20,000 inhabitants, and so on in proportion, shall be inclosed under the provisions of the Act without the previous authority of Parliament in each case. Then follow provisions absolutely preserving town and village greens from inclosure, which empower the commissioners to specify terms for the protection of public interests, and to appropriate allotments for the purposes of recreation. But these latter powers were very limited, as, for example, that where the population of a parish in which the inclosure was to be made amounts to ten thousand, the quantity of land for allotment was not to exceed ten acres. So that the

commissioners might allot if they pleased even half an acre only. The downward proportion was continued—the principle was one obviously not tending to the encouragement of allotments for recreation. A further section allowed such allotments for the labouring poor to be made as the commissioners should 'think necessary with reference to the 'circumstances of each particular case.' The vice of the Act was in the breadth of its principles in regard to inclosure and the narrowness of its protection of commons and of public rights; in practice the Act worked almost wholly in favour of lords of manors, nor did it prevent inclosures by lords of manors under the statute of Merton without the consent of Parliament.

The system of inclosure had at last largely effected its purpose. In 1726 it was estimated that half the land of England was common land and that two-thirds of this were common fields. By 1860 the common fields had ceased to exist, except here and there in some exceptional localities;* the commons had much diminished, but they were the sole remains of the prevailing system of common land which had filled so large a part in the economic and social history of the country during previous centuries. A reaction against further inclosure thus grew in force and produced a movement, about 1860, entirely opposed both in character and objects to that which had been so long in force.

It was assisted by the action of several able and energetic men, notably by the late Mr. Fawcett, whose unceasing activity and patience in Parliament, more especially about the year 1876, did much to give effect to the force of public opinion. It has shown too the value of combination, for much of the success in the law courts was due to work in co-operation and on systematic lines. But neither individual energy nor the combination of commoners would have produced the general results which have been attained if the movement had not been popular and expressive of national desires and wants.

In a survey of the subject of commons during the last thirty-five years, every one will be greatly assisted by the recently published work of Sir Robert Hunter, who was at one time solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society and piloted numerous important lawsuits to a happy issue. In

* In 1884 there were, in round numbers, 37 million acres in England: 264,000 only were common fields, and 2,368,000 were commons.

his book and in that of Mr. Shaw Lefevre there is a very full account of the progress of public feeling and legislation on the subject of English commons during the last half-century.

Naturally the movement in favour of open spaces first affected the commons near London. In 1864 the lord of the manor of Wimbledon, Lord Spencer, made certain proposals in regard to the dedication to the public, under certain conditions, of the larger part of the common. These proposals it is now unnecessary to consider; they were, however, regarded as insufficient by the commoners, but in the following year they were embodied in a private bill. The opposition to it was taken up by a committee of commoners and inhabitants, and the bill was referred to a Select Committee, appointed for the general purpose of inquiring into the best means of preserving for the use of the public the forests, commons, and open spaces in the neighbourhood of London. As to Wimbledon Common, the committee reported that—

'There was good reason for putting the common under proper regulation, for the preservation of order and the prevention of nuisances; it was not expedient that it should be fenced or inclosed, or that the commoners' rights should be extinguished, and that consequently it was not necessary that any part of it should be sold.' (English Commons and Forests, p. 31.)

The bill was then read a second time, but was not proceeded with. More important, however, was the report of the committee upon the general question submitted to its consideration. It 'expressed the confident opinion that 'rights of common subsisted over all the commons near 'London sufficient, if enforced at law, to abate any attempted 'inclosure under the statute of Merton.' This statement of opinion, coupled with the obvious necessity for open spaces near London, was a parliamentary expression of a need and of a right. On the one hand there was a need for open spaces, on the other there existed certain rights—namely, of the commoners—which were legally sufficient to prevent these spaces from being inclosed. It was therefore unnecessary to endeavour to establish what may be called an indirect public right, which, however specious, was devoid of all legal foundation—namely, that the commoners by their acquiescence in the general public enjoyment of the metropolitan commons had virtually transferred their right to the public. The first expression of opinion enunciated the law with accuracy, a law which was proved to be a sufficient public protection, not, however, until it had been

tested in more than one expensive and troublesome lawsuit. That expression, embodying the opinion of the House of Commons enunciated through a body selected by it to state its views, marks with great definiteness the first important step of a determinate character in the new movement.

Parliament acted in a characteristically English manner: it made no attempt to formulate any cut-and-dried scheme for the preservation of commons. Having given a legal opinion which had no legal force, it left the public to manage the business for themselves, so that a series of lawsuits was soon commenced with the object of preserving the open spaces near London for the general public by means of legal rights which had their origin and primary justification in the necessities of agricultural communities. The most important step in the movement was the establishment of the Commons Preservation Society in the autumn of 1865. It is scarcely possible to overrate the services rendered to the English people by this society, and its success shows how entirely its objects were supported by general and local opinion. This is proved by the ease with which persons were found to champion in particular districts the cause of the public against lords of manors. The legal campaigns, and the whole of the work of the society, were conducted with equal energy and tact, and with a thoroughness both in legal and lay matters which, when we come to look back at the difficulties overcome, is a remarkable instance of the capacity for managing their business which is so notable a trait in the English people.

Almost simultaneously—for in considering the movement as a whole a few months are of little consequence—battle was joined over Hampstead and Wimbledon, near London, and over Berkhampstead further afield. Hampstead had long been the scene of disputes between the lord of the manor and the commoners; but having already entered upon the subject of Wimbledon it may be convenient to complete the story of this common. Amicable arrangements between the lord of the manor and the commoners being impossible, a suit was begun on December 1, 1866, in the name of one of the commoners against Lord Spencer, claiming a declaration of his right as a commoner, and an injunction to restrain the lord from doing such acts as were inconsistent with this right. Much time was necessarily expended in inquiries into the history of the manor and in obtaining evidence. The result of these investigations was that in 1870 terms were arranged between the parties. Lord Spencer conveyed

'to trustees for the public the whole of his rights over Wimbledon and Putney commons, and that portion of Wandsworth Common which forms practically a part of Wimbledon Common, in consideration of the continuance to him, by means of a fixed annual payment, of the income which he had, on the average of the previous ten years, derived from the common.' (English Commons and Forests, p. 97.)

This arrangement was subsequently embodied in a private Act, conservators were duly appointed, and the common preserved for ever as an open space. Thus, though there had been no decision pronounced by a court of law, the opinion already expressed by the Parliamentary Committee had been justified by the investigations of those who were the advisers of the opposing parties.

Let us now turn for a short space to Hampstead Heath, once the waste of the manor of Hampstead, which in 1743 became the property of the Maryon family. The first attempt at systematic encroachment was in 1829, when Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson made application to Parliament in a private bill for powers to grant building leases over his land including the Heath. Local feeling in favour of the preservation of the Heath as an open space was even then in existence, so that in this instance we have one of the earliest manifestations of the current of public opinion which later in the century was to be so marked and so strong.

Fortunately Lord Mansfield, a neighbouring landowner, to whom the continuance of the heath as an open space was a matter of importance, succeeded in obtaining the rejection of the bill in the House of Lords. From that time forward private bills were over and over again rejected by Parliament, since no undertaking could be obtained from the landowner that, if given power to grant leases, he would not do so on the Heath as well as on his other property. Before the Committee of 1865 Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson asserted his absolute right to do what he liked with the Heath, and soon after the report of that committee was issued he began to build a house on the highest part of the Heath. This proceeding illustrated the danger to which these open spaces were now exposed by self-willed and energetic landowners, who saw in the report of the committee a warning that a right which they naturally regarded as of great pecuniary value might soon be taken from them unless it was successfully and immediately asserted. It was equally remarkable, as showing the blindness with which proprietors of estates were willing to

embark in conflict with sections of the public, and ignorance of the real state of the law as it affected their estates. A fund was soon raised to protect the interests of the commoners, and a suit was instituted against Sir Thomas Wilson in the name of Mr. Gurney Hoare, who was an undoubted commoner. The action came on for hearing before Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls; whilst allowing the suit to be brought by one commoner on behalf of himself and others, he directed that the issues of fact should be tried by a jury. In 1868, however, before the points in dispute were again in court, Sir Thomas Wilson died, and negotiations for a compromise were begun, and finally the lord of the manor transferred all his rights to the Metropolitan Board of Works for 45,000*l.* The Heath was thus placed out of danger; the lord of the manor secured an uncommonly good bargain, since the evidence was overwhelmingly strong in favour of the commoners. But the suits which were gradually to show lords of manors that their rights in commons was practically valueless had not then been decided, and commoners were not desirous to continue a very costly litigation. This compromise, however, favourable as it was to the lord of the manor, was a warning to other proprietors, since it was obvious that no landowner who was certain of a legal finding in his favour would have sacrificed his freehold rights, if he had any, over so valuable a building site for so comparatively small a sum.

The case of Berkhampstead Common was in many respects more decisive and more calculated to affect the current of the movement in favour of the preservation of the rural commons than the conflicts over Wimbledon and Hampstead. It was not touched by a teeming population; it was adjacent to a small country town, while above it were the beech woods and the pleasant glades of Ashridge Park. But the inhabitants both of Berkhampstead and of the adjoining village of Northchurch—places relatively more important in the past than in the present—had always set a high value on their undoubted rights of common, and so long ago as 1617 had been troubled about these rights. In that year the Council of the Prince of Wales, who as Duke of Cornwall was lord of the manor, took proceedings for the inclosure of part of the common. The people of Berkhampstead were ready to agree to the proposal on the terms that one half of the common should be assigned to them, and that the town should receive a charter of incorporation. The people of Northchurch, however, influenced by a public-

spirited landowner named Edlyn, at first refused to come to any arrangement; but they finally agreed to allow the Prince to take three hundred acres on the condition that the remainder of the common should remain free to them, and in 1619 three hundred acres were inclosed. In 1638 a further proposal for the inclosure of yet more of the commons was made. Berkhampstead was not unfriendly to it; Northchurch, led by a younger Edlyn and by Lord Bridgewater, was actively hostile, and opposed it before the Commission which had been issued to carry out the proposed action of the Council. But in spite of their protest the Commissioners reported that four hundred acres should be inclosed, and one hundred acres more given to the Corporation of Berkhampstead for the benefit of the poor. The people of Northchurch, headed by Edlyn, still continued to protest, so that Edlyn was arbitrarily and without a shadow of legality imprisoned, though he was very soon released by an order of the Lord Treasurer. Directly after this imprisonment—in 1639—the four hundred acres already mentioned were inclosed and fenced, and let on lease. In the following year, however, Edlyn and his friends took forcible measures, and all the fences were levelled with the ground. At once the Council of the Duchy petitioned the House of Lords that 'the Prince of Wales might be quieted 'in possession of the land during the privilege of Parliament, and that the delinquents who had violated such 'privilege might be punished.' The House of Lords gave a decision practically in favour of the commoners. It is true that they made an order for the quiet enjoyment of the land by the Prince during the continuance of the existing Parliament, but they added, 'It is not their Lordships' 'pleasure to determine anything in point of right to the 'title, but after the tyme of privilege of Parliament to 'leave it to the determination of the lawe' (Lords Journals). To the law courts the Prince would not go; the fences were again pulled down, but no further attempt was made to overawe the commoners. The Commonwealth, so far as Berkhampstead was concerned, was by no means a preserver of commons, as an order was made for the sale of the debateable four hundred acres to two persons named Ellis and Phillips. In 1653 Ellis offered this portion of the common, though still physically uninclosed, for sale. Edlyn came again to the rescue, and after some proceedings an order was made on April 27, 1659, dismissing the suit and giving Edlyn his costs. Thus there was a complete victory for the commoners of Northchurch.

But the struggle was renewed in more modern times. In 1866, Lord Brownlow's trustees, who were now the possessors of the soil of the manor by purchase from the Duchy of Cornwall, actually fenced in by iron rails the 400 acres which two centuries before the commoners of Northchurch had preserved. Many readers will remember how a gang of navvies were engaged to 'abate' the inclosure, and how the whole mass of iron fencing was levelled to the ground in a single night. Thereupon, Lord Brownlow commenced an action of trespass against Mr. Augustus Smith, a commoner who had taken up the cause of the commoners, and the latter gentleman began a suit in Chancery, claiming on behalf of himself and the commoners that their rights should be ascertained, and that the lord of the manor should be restrained from interfering with them.

For four years the litigation continued, and minute investigations were made at great expense into the past history of the common. At last, in January 1870, the Master of the Rolls gave judgement on all the points raised in favour of the commoners. There could have been no other result; in this, as in many other cases, as soon as the records and the history of the manor were investigated, the weakness and illegality of the claim of the lord of the manor became obvious. Much common land has been lost to the public through an absence of local public spirit, or through the weakness of small commoners; but, happily, the modern movement in favour of the preservation of open spaces began in sufficient time to preserve large tracts for the public use. Had it begun earlier it is doubtful if sufficient public necessity for the preservation of the existing commons would have been found to give real energy to the movement; but between 1860 and 1880 it became clearly recognised that if the spaces still open were to remain in this condition their preservation must be actively insisted on.

Some would consider it misleading to endeavour to divide the modern movement in favour of the retention of open spaces into two definite periods, one of litigation and the second of legislation. On the other hand, if we do not try to make too arbitrary divisions, it is both convenient and instructive to regard the earlier years of the movement as primarily devoted to the vindication of commoners' rights in the law courts and those which followed as a time of legislative activity. As we have already seen, the report of the committee of 1865 practically brought about a series of struggles between lords of manors and commoners.

These could only be ended either by judicial decisions or by investigations for the purposes of litigation which made the positions of the opposing parties clear. When one after another of the commons in regard to which disputes had arisen were shown to be open to public enjoyment by reason of the commoners' rural rights, it became comparatively easy for the Legislature to follow public opinion. The legislation itself has two divisions; it was concerned both with what are called metropolitan as well as with rural commons, and there exists a difference in regard to these divisions of the subject. Legislation in respect of metropolitan commons began soon after the parliamentary discussions in 1865. The first Metropolitan Commons Act became law in 1866, and extended to commons within the metropolitan police district. That legislation should have begun first in regard to this class of commons is consistent with the whole national course of the movement in favour of open spaces, since it arises from the growth of population and the increase of urban communities. The first Act was amended in 1869, and again in 1878, and the three form a code for the preservation and the regulation of the commons near London. Under them four classes may present a memorial to the Board of Agriculture praying for the preparation of a scheme for the regulation and preservation of a common. These are the lords of the manor, any commoners, the local authority for the district in which the common lies, twelve or more ratepayers in the district. When we regard the position of commons from something beyond a mere legal point of view, the fact that the local authority or a body of ratepayers may set the Government Department in motion is remarkable. It is wholly a departure from the historical position of the common; it gives it modern attributes, for it admits the right of the general public as distinguished from the inhabitants of a particular locality to have an interest in it. Moreover, once this public right was admitted in respect of a particular class of commons it became obvious that in process of time the right could not be geographically limited. Moreover, by these Acts no veto on any scheme is given to the lord of the manor; all that the latter is entitled to is compensation for the loss of any right which he may suffer by the common being, so to say, handed over to the public. At the same time it must not be supposed that the Act of 1866, liberal as it was, put an end to the difficulties in regard to metropolitan commons. We have already sketched the incidents which occurred in regard to

Wimbledon and Hampstead. Until it was clear that a so-called common was legally common land, it was useless to endeavour to have it placed under regulations, and in many instances these preliminary questions had to be settled by legal proceedings. To a great extent, therefore, the legislative influence did not come into full being until some time after the first Metropolitan Commons Act became law.*

When we turn to rural commons we may begin at the same point of time in following the trend of the new movement. But it was slower in its progress and less decisive in its results. The action of those who were in favour of the preservation of open spaces may be regarded as being chiefly directed to the reasonable working of the existing law. Every year the Inclosure Commissioners brought in a bill to confirm the inclosures which they had authorised. In 1867 nearly 7,000 acres of the rural commons were scheduled for inclosure; out of this large quantity of land no more than three acres were apportioned for recreation and but six for allotments. The bill, one similar to many which previously became law, was opposed by Mr. Fawcett, who succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a select committee to consider the subject and the suspension of proceedings under the bill. The report of the Committee of 1869 is another landmark in the course of the movement; it showed the inadequacy of the provision made by the Inclosure Commissioners both for the purpose of recreation and for allotments, and recommended the amendment of the Act of 1845, and the suspension of inclosures until this had been done.

In 1871 a bill drawn on the lines of the report of the Committee of 1869 was brought forward by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, then Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. It was, however, impossible to advance it during the session of that year, and in the following year, after being introduced into the House of Lords, it was quite unreasonably thrown out on the third reading. In

* Between 1869 and 1893 nineteen commons were subjected to regulation under the Metropolitan Commons Act, comprising 3,834 acres. (English Commons and Forests, App. I.) This is exclusive of 9,125 acres which have been secured, either under special Acts or have been bought by the local authorities. (App. II.) Since 1893 but one other common—that of Orpington—has been placed under regulations. There are thirty-one commons over 20 acres in extent in the metropolitan area, comprising 4,597 acres, still unregulated.

the Legislature the subject slumbered for a short while; no further inclosure orders were confirmed, but no new bill was brought forward. In 1876, however, the Home Secretary, the present Lord Cross, introduced and passed the Commons Act, 1876. The whole course of the discussion on this bill in Parliament showed how much public opinion had changed on this subject; 'in discussing the expediency of 'inclosing lands,' said the Home Secretary, 'they had to 'consider not merely how to increase the food supply, but 'what was really best calculated to promote the health and 'material prosperity of the people.' In other words, it was now admitted that the interests of the public in the rural commons must be considered, that the inclosure of commons had ceased to be merely a question of the respective rights of lords of the manor and of the commoners, and that the commons were now to be considered in some degree at least as playgrounds and health resorts for the whole population of the country.

'It is desirable,' runs part of the preamble, 'that inclosure in severalty as opposed to regulation of commons should not be hereinafter made unless it can be proved to the satisfaction of the said Commissioners and of Parliament that such inclosure will be of benefit to the neighbourhood as well as to private interests and to those who are legally interested in any such commons.'

Compare this with the preamble to the Act of 1845, and we see that the benefit to the neighbourhood is quite a new element for consideration. To the law it was wholly unknown, for to the law were only known the owner of the soil and those who had certain rights on the surface of it. But while in theory the Act gives these rights to the public, in reality it falls short in practice. We have already pointed out that, under the Metropolitan Commons Act, the lord of the manor cannot prevent the placing of a common under regulations. Here is the vital difference between the statute law in regard to rural commons and that in regard to metropolitan commons. The former 'requires the consent of persons representing two-thirds in 'value of the legal interest in the common and gives the 'lord of the manor in the case of a manorial common a 'veto upon regulation.' The Act is, therefore, in one sense contradictory, for it is obvious that the veto of the lord of the manor or the dissent of some commoners may prevent the Inclosure Commissioners—or, rather, the Board of Agriculture—from making a provisional order for the regulation of a common which would be of great benefit to

the locality. But the Act has to be regarded from another point of view—as a defence against reckless inclosures. In this respect it was a remarkable step in the gradual change in the essentials of English commons. If it was in some respects defective by the opportunities which it gave for obstructing the necessary regulation of a common, it yet placed a bar to future inclosures which might not be to the public advantage. Thus, when an application was to be put forward for the inclosure of a common, information had, and still has, to be given in regard to the expediency of the application, 'considered in relation to the benefit of the 'neighbourhood as well as to private interests;' stated more particularly and as set out in the Act, such information was among other things to specify whether any other ground is available for the recreation of the neighbourhood; the size, extent, and suitableness of the allotments, if any, proposed to be made for recreation grounds and field gardens; the advantages which the applicants anticipate from the inclosure of the common as compared with its regulation; and the reasons why an inclosure is expedient when viewed in relation to the benefit of the neighbourhood. Thus the whole political and social theory of inclosure which had prevailed, in practice at least, for so many years was finally destroyed by the Act of 1876. Private interests in common land ceased to be the paramount factor in dealing with it, and the public advantage was accorded not as in regard to metropolitan commons the chief place, but an equal one with private interests. Between 1876 and 1886—that is, in the first ten years after the passing of the Act—29,038 acres were placed under regulation; in other words, were practically dedicated for ever to the public use. In the same period 26,036 acres were inclosed, but at the same time 494 acres were given up as allotments for recreation, and 283 were transferred into field gardens. Some of the common land was in no sense a common such as is known in the South of England, waste land near a village, for part of it was northern moorland, such as Beamsley Moor in Yorkshire and Matterdale in Cumberland. In the former instance, the public were allowed the use of certain parts of it; in the latter, 20 acres were set out for recreation ground and allotments. Opinions may, and naturally will, differ as to the proper proportion of common land which should be reserved to the public. But there can be no difference of opinion in regard either to the larger advantages obtained by the public under the Act of 1876, and

this is of even greater interest on a consideration of social changes and national tendencies of thought in regard to the complete alteration of the rights of the public and of private owners in commons.

The Commons Act of 1876 has been slightly amended by succeeding statutes, and the comparatively recent legislation by which parish councils were created has given them some rights as the guardians of the public interest. But, looking at the subject broadly, the Act of 1876 has only been altered in trivial details, and remains still, and must continue to be, the great landmark of modern times in the history of this subject. But there are two other statutes which have increased the enjoyment of the public by curtailing the rights of individuals. The one is the Copyhold Act, 1887; the other is the Commons Amendment Act, 1893. These two statutes have, in truth, put an end to the possibility of inclosures adverse to the public interest without the sanction of Parliament. This was sometimes done by an ingenious system of copyhold grants.

'In many manors the practice had obtained of inclosing small portions of the waste, under the authority of a custom to make new copyhold grants with the consent of the homage of copyholders. Probably the practice originated in the desire to legalise encroachments. Some labouring man squatted on a common, and took in a piece of the waste for a garden, pigsty, or cartshed to his adjoining cottage. Neither the lord of the manor nor anyone else wanted to throw out such a petty encroachment. If, however, it was suffered to remain without condition of any kind, both lord and commoners were prejudiced. Again, if the lord simply levied a rent, the commoners were dissatisfied. Under these circumstances the idea occurred to some one of a copyhold grant. The encroacher was made to petition the lord at a common court for a grant of the piece of land in question. The tenants present on the homage jury were consulted, and if they approved the land was granted, with their consent and on such conditions as they might impose, to be held by copy of court roll.' (English Commons and Forests, p. 348.)

This fiction, so peculiarly attractive to and characteristic of the English legal mind, was found an excellent means by lords of manors of inclosing land; copyholds were created out of the waste and transferred to trustees for the lord, and thence passed into his hands, the consent of the homage being reduced to a mere form. The Act of 1887 made it unlawful to create such tenures without the previous consent of the Land Commissioners, who, in giving or withholding it, were to have regard to the same considerations as when demands were made for the inclosure of

commons under the Act of 1876. The public interest was again placed in a paramount position, and this curious side door was effectually barred.

We have referred in an earlier part of this article to the statute of Merton, and we have seen that it enabled lords of manors to inclose the waste against the will of the commoners if the latter had a sufficiency of pasture. Though six hundred years old, and though passed in an age wholly unlike the present, it was still on the statute book, and being there it formed a sufficiently legal excuse for inclosure by landowners when commoners were either too weak or were unwilling to resist. Public interests might easily be prejudiced by action under this statute. Its existence was thus not only a constant danger, it was also inconsistent with the rationale of the Commons Act of 1876, which, we must repeat, had placed public on the same level as private interests. The Act of 1893, though it did not repeal the statute of Merton, as it might well have done, placed inclosures under it on the same footing as under the Copyhold Act of 1887—it required the public interest to be properly considered. In the House of Lords it was hotly opposed by Lord Salisbury on the ground that it took away a right which had been in the lords of manors for six centuries. It was fortunately carried against him, though it is still a matter of surprise that so acute a statesman should have used so weak an argument, and should have endeavoured to stop a reform which was entirely in harmony with legislation previously promoted by a Conservative Government.

But the parliamentary eccentricities of statesmen, however eminent, are of little moment when we are regarding large social and economical changes in relation to the history of a nation. The main tendencies of opinion, landmarks legal or legislative, are what must be remembered, and from this point of view the Act of 1876 and the two subordinate statutes to which we have just referred constitute in the history of rural England a complete close to the course of events which had extended over six centuries. They also crown the short and stirring period of legal and legislative activity which we have shown began about the year 1860 by a signal and permanent safeguard of the public interests in the commons and greens of the country. The movement, it is true, is not yet complete, for in one sense these statutes are negative in their results; for, as we have seen, a lord of the manor may veto the regulation or

inclosure of a rural common which in the public interest should be placed under permanent regulations. The principles on which the Metropolitan Commons Act is based should be further extended so that at any rate within a specified distance of large towns the inclosure or regulation of commons should be possible if in the interests of the public they are desirable. Equally also with the growth of London and with the yearly increasing facilities given to the vast population of the metropolis to reach the countryside, is it necessary that the area covered by the Metropolitan Commons Act should be extended. The principle that it is right to consider in the first place the public good in regard to commons near the metropolis having been sanctioned by the Legislature, it follows that with the changes of time there should be extensions of the application of the principle.

We have not as yet spoken specially of village greens. This term is often used in a loose and popular sense, and portions of uninclosed land which are essentially commons are called village or town greens, through their proximity to some village or city. If we endeavour to use the phrase in an accurate manner, and as contra-distinguished from the word common, it is clear that a village green would mean a piece of land usually uninclosed, over which the inhabitants of the village have a right of recreation only, and which is not land subject to the ordinary rights of common, and this is obviously what was meant by village greens in the general Inclosure Act of 1845. In many instances, however, a small common and a village green are synonymous, and sometimes the village green is a portion only of a common; in this piece the people of the place have had the right of playing from time immemorial, so that though really in the first instance a part of the common, it has lost its essentials through the incompatibility of the exercise of common rights and a right of recreation. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many village greens which have never been portions of a common.* They are thus, in fact, often pieces of land which have remained uninclosed, because for

* 'These bits of ground used by the inhabitants for recreation are in most cases ground which never really belonged to any several owner. Not having been appropriated by reclamation or otherwise in early times, and having escaped wholly or in part from the encroachment of the lord or his agents, they remain open for common enjoyment.' (Pollock, 'Land Laws,' p. 41.)

centuries they have been the scene of the village games. We are sometimes apt to forget that the English villager has become a more serious individual than his forefather; whether he is a wiser as well as a sadder man it is not necessary to say. But while to-day we largely regard the village green as a place of recreation for boys and children, in the past it was much more than it is now the place of enjoyment for their elders. It may be that sometimes the games were originally played on a piece of ground which has subsequently become inclosed, but that fact would not make it less a village green open to the village population if a custom can clearly be proved that all sorts of games have been played on it from time immemorial.*

'So long ago as the time of Charles II. a custom, "that all the inhabitants of a vill, time out of memory, had used to dance on a certain close at all times of the year at their free will for their recreation," was held to be a good one, the court sententiously observing that "it is necessary for inhabitants to have their recreations." . . .

'More than a hundred years afterwards a similar action was brought against certain persons for playing cricket on a certain piece of ground at Steeple Bumstead, in Essex. The playing of cricket was justified under a custom "for all the inhabitants of the parish to play at all kinds of lawful games, sports, and pastimes on the ground in question at all seasonable times of the year, at their free will and pleasure." This custom the court held was good. One of the defendants, however, pleaded a similar custom "for all persons for the time being in the said parish." This custom the court held was bad, on the ground that it was in reality a custom for all mankind to play on the ground in question, and that such a custom cannot exist in English law. A custom, it was held, must be local, and confined to a limited class of persons; a usage which extends to all the subjects of the realm must be justified, not by exceptional custom, but by the common law.

'This decision has since governed all claims to a right of recreation. It has been repeatedly mentioned with approval and followed, and may, together with the earlier case we have cited, be taken as settling the law on the subject.' (Hunter, 'Open Spaces,' p. 177.)

The layman has naturally some difficulty in understanding why, if recreation is good for the inhabitants of a particular

* In the case of Hall *v.* Nottingham, decided in 1875, a custom to erect a maypole and dance round it, and to enjoy any lawful and innocent recreation at any time of the year on an inclosed field called the Maypole Piece, in the parish of Ashford Carbonell, Shropshire, was held to be good. This case set at rest any doubts arising from the difference of earlier authorities, and is an important safeguard of the rights of villagers.

group, and so is lawful, it should not equally be good and lawful for an indefinite number of persons. But here we at once embark on technical rules of English law by which customs are to be certain, to be reasonable, and so forth. But what is perhaps most noticeable in regard to this legal protection by the courts of law of the village green is the fact that it is about the only instance which exists of the upholding by the law of what may be called mere rights of pleasure in commons as distinguished from rights of a profitable nature.

We have done with times of Arcadian simplicity, with the maypole and the dance in the long summer evenings; but the importance of preserving every village green free from inclosure, and open as a place of recreation, has become even greater in the present day. On many greens cricket, football, and quoits are constantly played, but of many it were greatly to be wished that the agricultural labourer made more use. If a green is a common, then the law in regard to the preservation of commons becomes applicable to it. If it is a spot used only for the purposes of recreation, then should any attempt be made either to inclose it or prevent it from being used as a place of enjoyment, it is necessary only to prove distinctly a custom of recreation by the inhabitants of a particular locality. The creation of parish councils has brought into existence a body who cannot have a more important duty than to safeguard the village greens of rural England. In some cases they are now the actual as well as the indirect guardians, for where greens have been allotted under parliamentary inclosures by the Inclosure Commissioners, the powers, duties, and liabilities of the churchwardens and overseers with respect to the holding and management of village greens were transferred by the Local Government Act, 1894, to the parish council, and the property in the green is vested in it. In truth public interests are now completely safeguarded, on the one hand by the current of judicial decisions, on the other by statute. All that is needed is vigilance in the inhabitants of a locality, so that ancient rights of recreation be not lost. Where a village is not happily the possessor of such an immemorial playground, no opportunity should be missed of obtaining some piece of land for the purpose of a recreation ground, as it is called in the parlance of modern legislation. Nor should this be done in a half-hearted manner, by merely renting for a year or two an acre or two of ground. What is needed

is the obtaining of a piece of land in perpetuity, so that whether it be an ancient village green with traditions running back through many generations of the rude forefathers of the hamlet, or a modern recreation ground rescued from the plough or the builder, it may continue to be a place of enjoyment for the village amidst all changes of men or locality.

We cannot leave the subject of common land without a word in regard to a point on which attention is becoming more constantly fixed—namely, the right of the public to frequent the sea shore and land along sea cliffs. As the villages of the English coast become more thronged by the dwellers in the crowded towns, every acre of ground which borders on the sea becomes of greater importance for the purposes of recreation. The foreshore is, as most persons know, the property of the Crown, but there may be a right of way over it, as over any other piece of land. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the public are allowed to make the foreshore a resort for pleasure not by any legal right, but through the sufferance of the Crown. This general principle is not, however, inconsistent with a personal or local right based on a well-ascertained custom. Again, a right of way may be established along cliffs and over coast-line downs just as over an inland pasturage. Rights of common may exist on them just as they may over a midland moor. The practical point which needs attention is that these rights of common and rights of way should be carefully safeguarded against infringement. There is a danger that small plots of ground, which are parts of common land, may be sold for building purposes without attracting notice, and that rights of way which hereafter may be of importance may be destroyed by similar means. The vigilance of the Commons Preservation Society is invaluable, but it is for those who have local knowledge to watch and guard against the diminution of public rights. Every year the sea-girt downs of the English coast become of greater importance, and future generations will justly complain if we of the present day allow this valuable heritage to be diminished. Here the preservation of rights of way and of common is as essential as over the inland wood and meadow; it is justified by the same reasons, and is part of that movement for the retention of the still existing open spaces, which, as we have endeavoured to show, forms the latest of the series of great national changes in relation to the commons and common lands of England.

ART. VI.—1. *L'Europe et la Révolution Française.* Par ALBERT SOREL. 4 vols. Paris: 1885–92.

2. *Pitt et Frédéric-Guillaume II.* Par J. H. CREUX. Paris: 1886.

3. *Revue Historique.* Vol. I.: *La Mission de Custine à Brunswick.* Par ALBERT SOREL. Paris: 1876.

4. *Memoiren über meine Verhältnisse zum preussischen Staat und insbesondere zum Herzog von Braunschweig.* Von dem Obristen von MASSENBACH. Amsterdam: 1809.

WE propose in this article to examine the early career of one of the most conspicuous figures of the eighteenth century, to whose personality the numerous works recently published on the history of the French Revolution and Empire have again directed attention. In their pages the name of Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, constantly occurs, but with an ill-defined sphere and an enigmatic action which in many respects have hitherto baffled explanation. The Duke held a distinguished place in all the transactions, both of war and peace, in the period between 1789 and 1806; and this place is seen to be of even greater interest and importance in proportion as the events of the time are more closely examined. But we are often conscious of being in the face of many apparent paradoxes and contradictions in connexion with his life, and of a frequent difficulty in finding satisfactory evidence to account for the unquestioned position which he for so long occupied, both in the camp and the cabinet.

The nephew and favourite pupil of Frederic the Great, the military career of the Duke is chiefly associated by the general reader with the disasters of Valmy and Auerstädt. In the aged commander whose hesitations are the object of the wrath of more serious critics than the boasters of the Potsdam parade-grounds, the reader hardly recognises the brilliant chief who shared with his uncle Ferdinand the glories of Crevelt and Minden, and dashed across Germany to the rescue of Frederic himself after Künersdorf. Like his royal uncle a sympathiser with reforming ideas—one of the princely forerunners, in fact, of the French Revolution—he is nevertheless for ever identified with the manifesto of the allied sovereigns against the Revolution: the manifesto which, rightly or wrongly, has the credit of having been the immediate cause of the downfall of the French monarchy at

the hands of the exasperated Republicans. Early in 1792 he is the object of an invitation, as will be related further on, from the advanced wing of the constitutional party in France, to take the command of all her forces with almost a certainty of having to lead them in a war against Austria; and later in the year he is offered and accepts the command of the allied army which invades France in order to put down the Revolution. At one moment he is acclaimed as the greatest general in Europe; at another he is denounced as the cause of all the misfortunes of his country. His life is the record of abrupt transitions. One half consists of great and continuous good fortune: the other of terrible and ruinous failure. His sun rises in 1735 in youthful splendour amid the most brilliant glories of the Seven Years' War; it disappears in the gloom of disaster and defeat in 1806. Just before his death Kalckreuth declared him to be responsible for every coming misfortune; yet Rückert made his death the subject of one of those lyrics which aroused Germany against the conqueror, and Byron included him in the splendid tribute which immortalised his son who fell at Waterloo.

By birth the Duke was closely allied to the Royal House of England, and his own military fortunes were originally connected with the disasters which befell another member of the Hanoverian family. In the war of the Austrian Succession the continental army of England and her allies was commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, who combined a leonine personal courage with a total ignorance of the art of war, made doubly dangerous by the defective vision which on one occasion caused him to be almost captured by some hostile cavalry mistaken by him for one of his own brigades. At the battle of Dettingen a series of lucky accidents, and a want of skill then unusual in the French commanders, alone converted into a British victory a situation which, judged from a purely military standpoint, ought to have ended in the capture of the Duke, his Royal father and the Secretary of State, at a moment when such a disaster might have had fatal effects not only on the fortune of the campaign, but also on the struggle for the crown with the Pretender. At Fontenoy the British arms sustained a defeat which dimmed the lustre of Blenheim and Ramillies. At home the officers whom he favoured as his chosen lieutenants proved themselves at Prestonpans and Falkirk to be unable even to cope with an almost savage and totally undisciplined foe; and the facile glories of Culloden,

where victory at length smiled on the ducal standard, were soon wiped out by renewed disasters abroad. When the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle at length terminated the war of the Austrian Succession, men were at least grateful that peace had presumably terminated the active military career of the son of George II. Unfortunately, when war again commenced in 1756, he was once more entrusted, through paternal and royal affection, with the command of the British army which in 1757 was sent to defend the Electorate of Hanover and to co-operate with Frederic the Great by a diversion in Western Germany. The usual results followed. Of the disasters of that campaign a pithy account has been left by no less a person than the King of Prussia himself. The forces under the Duke of Cumberland were steadily forced back into a corner beyond the Weser through the incapacity of the general, whose misfortune it was 'to think too late' of the necessary precautions.* They were finally forced to give battle near the little village of Hastenbeck. A total defeat ensued. And yet, had the Duke of Cumberland but known it, victory on this occasion was his. The French were the attacking party. At an early period of the action they captured the great battery which defended the centre of the position, and under cover of a deep and wooded ravine turned the Duke's left wing. But the central battery was suddenly retaken by a dashing attack, and the French force which had turned the Duke's left found itself isolated and surrounded. It fled, losing all the artillery and standards. The French general, M. d'Estrées, had actually given the order for his whole force to retire, when it was discovered that the British leader was already in full retreat. The sequel was the ignominious Convention of Kloster Seven. If one of the blackest pages in our military annals, it at least rendered the future employment of the Duke of Cumberland impossible.

After Hastenbeck the British Cabinet came to the conclusion that if the year 1757 had been utterly inglorious to the British arms, at least the seeds of victory might be planted in the hour of defeat by the immediate appointment of a more competent commander. The indignant voice of the nation, exasperated by failures in every part of the world, had just called the elder Pitt to power. Under his lead was formed the great ministry which lasted till 1761, and restored the honour and reputation of the country. Pitt recognised that for the moment it would be better to

* 'Penser bien tard.' Mémoires de Frédéric, i. 488.

place the British contingent abroad under foreign command; and so great was his prestige that he was able to win approval for proposals which, if put forward by others, might have been regarded as derogatory to the countrymen of Marlborough. The commander selected for the combined British and Hanoverian forces was Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg, then thirty-seven years of age, one of the most trusted of the pupils of the great Frederic. He already held one of the highest commands in the Prussian army, and was governor of Magdeburg.

When the tide of fortune at Hastenbeck was for the moment turned, says the King, 'it was owing to the courage 'and skill of Charles William Ferdinand, Hereditary Prince 'of Brunswick, who recaptured the central battery, and by 'this *coup d'essai* showed that nature destined him to be a 'hero.'* The Prince at this time was twenty-two years of age. He was the eldest son of the King's favourite sister, Philippina Charlotte, by her marriage with the reigning Duke of Brunswick, and was the nephew of the newly appointed commander. One of the immediate results of the failure of the Duke of Cumberland had been the occupation by the French of the Duchy of Brunswick. The Duke and his family fled, and the Hereditary Prince was on his way to Holland through Hamburg, when he met his uncle, and was easily persuaded by him to take active service in the new army which was being assembled at Lüneburg.

The Hereditary Prince had received his military education under the eye of his two uncles, the King and Duke Ferdinand; his literary education under the watchful care of his able mother and from such famous teachers as the Abbé Jérusalem, Hirchmann and Gärtner. From his earliest years the highest hopes had been formed of his future career; nor were they now disappointed. In the long array of battles which distinguished the campaigns of the latter part of the Seven Years' War, the Hereditary Prince, sometimes as the leader of a separate force, on other occasions as next in command to his uncle, rapidly obtained the highest reputation. The names of the two Princes of Brunswick became a terror to the invaders of Germany, second only to that of the King himself. At Crevelt in 1758 they gained a victory which obliterated the evil memory of Hastenbeck. A defeat at Bergen in 1759 was followed by the great victory of Minden, gained on August 1. The refusal

* Mémoires de Frédéric, i. 489.

of Lord George Sackville to carry out the orders of the Duke alone saved the French army from a destruction as total as at Blenheim. On the eve of this battle, otherwise so glorious to the allied arms, the Hereditary Prince was despatched to the rear of the French army with a separate corps of 10,000 men. Having routed the Duc de Brissac at Koesfeld in an engagement distinct from that in which his uncle defeated the main army of the enemy, he cut off their retreat and converted it into a rout. The French were driven out of Cassel, the Bishopric of Münster and Marburg; and only the disaster which almost at the same time had befallen General Finck at Maxen prevented Duke Ferdinand from carrying his successes still further. To remedy that disaster, which had been followed by the defeat of the King himself at Künersdorf by the Russians, he detached the Hereditary Prince to the support of the King, who had meanwhile rewarded his services at Minden by composing one of those odes with which the Royal author was in the habit of punishing his friends and allies and cheering his own spirits in even the darkest hours.

> Regardez-le, ma sœur, l'amour vous y convie,
> Dans vos flancs vertueux ce héros prit la vie
> Et ses rares talents;
> Votre belle âme en lui retraça son image,
> De son auguste père il a tout le courage
> Et les grands sentiments.

And so on in thirty-three stanzas, which the curious can read, if they so desire, in the collected works of his Prussian Majesty.* 'His days,' wrote the elder Pitt, 'are precious 'to Europe.'† The King relates, but in sober prose, how on his return from Eastern Germany the Hereditary Prince, after other exploits, 'flew on wings,' and, with a musket wound still open, presented himself on July 16, 1760, before the gates of Fulda, at a moment when nobody expected him. The reigning Duke had on that very day prepared a ball, and only escaped capture by flight. Pitt describes the 'glorious event of the immortal Hereditary Prince' in a letter to Lady Hester. 'Five times he pressed the French 'infantry at the head of Elliott's; his horse wounded under 'him, and a led horse behind him killed.'‡ Nor was this, the King says, 'the last exploit of this hero,' for, undismayed by a severe check at Korbach, he quickly retrieved his re-

* Œuvres Posthumes, xiv. 233–241; ed. 1789.

† Chatham Correspondence, ii. 10. ‡ Ibid. ii. 54.

putation by dashing success at Warburg.* The fury of the war seemed to concentrate itself wherever he was. It was related with enthusiasm how he had crossed the Weser in midwinter and captured Hoya. This exploit became legendary.

"'I will tell you,' he said to Massenbach many years after, 'what really happened. It was in February; the Weser was covered with floating ice; the night was rough; no fisherman could be found who had the courage to put us across. I found gold, and the men then found a supply of courage. They ferried part of the regiment of Hauss and the Bodyguard safely across. A violent storm then arose. The remaining companies of these regiments had to remain on the right bank. With my small body of men I continued the advance on Hoya. The French patrols had neglected their duty, owing to the fearful inclemency of the weather. We came on them at the first houses of the town. Out of one of these came a Frenchman. He looked at us, and tried to escape. But I seized hold of him myself, and grasped him by the throat. "You are a lost man," I said, "if you speak a word," and I pointed my sword at his breast. "Where are your comrades?" We marched straight forwards, and came on them so unexpectedly that they first became aware of our existence from hearing our fire. This fire settled the business. We were masters of the bridge. You know the rest. Alas! these times are over; and they will never return. How lucky we used to be then!'†

The Hereditary Prince next undertook a diversion beyond the Rhine towards the Dutch frontier, with a view to besieging Wesel. Opposed to him was the Marquis de Castries with 25,000 men, and this force the Prince boldly attempted to surprise at night. Then took place the famous episode of the death of the Chevalier d'Assas, of the regiment of Auvergne, who, having strayed beyond the French outposts, met the advancing British and Hanoverian forces. Declining to accept quarter, he gave the alarm, 'A moi, Auvergne; voilà 'les ennemis!' and died under a hundred wounds, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Prince, who, struck by his gallantry, desired to save his life. The French army was saved, and the Prince fell back, with a loss of 1,200 men, after a desperate engagement; but his fine retreat gained the commendation of the King, and his reputation suffered no diminution. In the campaign of 1761 he was at first worsted in a skirmish at Stangerode, but shared with his uncle the credit of victory in the two days' battle of Kirch Denkern, where almost on the very ground where Arminius defeated

* Mémoires de Frédéric, ii. 64, 159.
†Massenbach, iii. 239, 240.

Varus, in the Teutoburger Wald, they inflicted a bloody repulse on the combined forces of the Duc de Broglie and the Prince de Soubise. In the campaign of 1762, which both parties felt was likely to prove decisive, having been placed by his uncle at the head of fifteen battalions of infantry and twenty squadrons of cavalry, he surprised the force of the Duc de Lévis, and nearly captured the whole of it, the French commander only just succeeding in escaping in the confusion. But in a later enterprise of the same order against a detachment of the forces under M. de Condé and the Prince de Soubise, which turned out to be supported by the whole French army, he was seriously worsted and himself placed *hors de combat* through a wound, when peace came opportunely to put an end to hostilities.*

Among the heroes of the war, friend and foe alike acclaimed the two Princes of Brunswick, especially the younger, whose exploits were of precisely the character to fascinate the public mind. The contrast with the Duke of Cumberland was obvious, and the genius of Pitt in selecting fit instruments for his policy was made the object of the greater laudation, because just at this moment he had been driven from power by the intrigues of Bute and the Court, from whose incapacity a repetition of the disasters of Fontenoy and Hastenbeck might well have been expected, had England again been forced to tempt the fate of arms on the Continent. The admirable courtesy of the Hereditary Prince to the conquered, and the care he showed for the wounded—as in the case of Comte de Gisors, the brilliant son of Marshal de Belle-Isle, between whose character and his Voltaire noted a marked likeness—rendered him almost as popular in France as at home. Not that the Prince was unduly elated by his successes or by popular applause. The occasional reverses he had experienced had left a deep impression on his mind, and a curious power of self-introspection which he exhibited, to the discomfiture of his admirers, caused him to betray a tendency to hesitation which already alarmed them for his future career. For Duke Ferdinand and the King he had an almost superstitious reverence: Prince Henry of Prussia used sarcastically to say that he was afraid of his uncles even when they were both dead. Westphalen, the able secretary of Duke Ferdinand, noticed these tendencies as early as 1762, and declared that the habits of subjection to which the Prince had accustomed himself, had

* Mémoires de Frédéric, ii. 251–252.

injured his power of self-reliance in a serious degree; and Gaudi, the famous military instructor at Berlin, told Massenbach that in a great crisis the Prince might be found to lack decision.*

These criticisms, however, did not extend beyond a limited circle, and the impression of the transcendent character of his abilities which his campaigns had created, did not tend to grow less when it was seen how open a predilection was shown by the King for his nephew. Capable judges also began to whisper that if the military talents of the Prince were great, they were equalled, if not surpassed, by his wisdom in affairs of state. 'He has the judgement and 'good sense of a man of forty years,' the King told Sir A. Mitchell, 'and he has made such progress in military affairs 'that I could entrust the command of my armies to him.'†

On the conclusion of peace the Hereditary Prince visited the principal Courts of Europe, where his reputation had preceded him. At Paris his varied accomplishments made him as welcome in literary and scientific circles as his military reputation did with the army. Marmontel, Voltaire, Winckelmann, Nardini, are only a few of the names with which we find him associated on this journey. All were impressed with his knowledge and brilliancy. 'The Prince was 'as lucky as he was audacious in action,' says Voltaire. 'I 'noticed, too, the modesty with which he accepted the tribute 'paid to his deserved reputation.'‡ In England the enthusiasm knew no bounds. When in 1764 he arrived, the destined bridegroom of Princess Augusta, the whole population thronged to receive the hero; and with the greater effusion because it was believed that the marriage was disagreeable to the King and the Ministers. Lady Chatham wrote to Pitt that

'they almost pulled down the house in which he was in order to see him.§ A substantial Quaker insisted so strongly on seeing him that he was allowed to come into the room. He pulled off his hat to him, and said: "Noble friend, give me thy hand," which was given, and he kissed it. "Although I do not fight myself, I love a brave man that will fight. Thou art a valiant Prince, and art to be married to a lovely Princess; love her, make her a good husband, and the Lord bless you both."'‖

* Massenbach, i. 11, ii. 94. Lehmann, 'Life of Scharnhorst,' i. 305.
† Mitchell MSS., British Museum.
‡ Siècle de Louis XV, ch. xxxiii.
§ At Harwich, where he landed.
‖ Chatham Correspondence, ii. 271.

The public gratitude took a more substantial shape in a parliamentary vote of 80,000*l.*, an annuity of 5,000*l.*, characteristically charged on the revenues of Ireland, and a public endowment of 3,000*l.*, charged on those of Hanover. His manner captivated everybody.

'The Court and the Ministers, however,' says Walpole, 'cold-shouldered the Prince; the plan was formed to disgust him, in order to send him away as soon as possible. He was lodged at Somerset House, and no guards were stationed there. The Lord Steward chose the company that should dine there, and every art was used to prevent his seeing Mr. Pitt or the chiefs of the Opposition. At the wedding the servants of the King and Queen were ordered not to appear in new clothes. But though these little artifices had the desired effect of affronting the Prince, they only drew mortifications on the Court. The people, enchanted with novelty and a hero, were unbounded in their exultations whenever he appeared; and, as the behaviour of the Court got wind, took pleasure, when he attended the King to the theatres, to mark their joy at the presence of the Prince and the coldest neglect of their Sovereign.'*

The Prince revenged himself on the Court by insisting on calling on Pitt and the leaders of the Opposition, and he was believed by a delighted mob to have turned his back on the King at the Opera. In consequence of these supposed amenities of royal intercourse, he only remained in England thirteen days.

Frederic the Great is said to have objected to his nephew's English alliance, being still exasperated at the desertion of his cause in 1762 by the King and his Ministers after the fall of Pitt; possibly also because the old King feared the arrival in Germany of Princess Augusta, who was said 'to 'be lively and much inclined to meddle in the private 'politics of the Court.' But these apprehensions, if they existed, proved groundless; nor was it till the next generation that the union of the Prince and Princess came to be regarded as one fraught with none but unhappy results. Of two daughters of the marriage, the eldest became Duchess of Würtemberg, and ended miserably in Russia; the second was the unfortunate Queen Caroline of England, consort of the Prince Regent. Of four sons, the eldest was well-nigh imbecile; the second was an idiot; the third was blind; the fourth was the son who fell at Waterloo. 'Only private 'persons,' the Duke once told Massenbach in a fit of confidence as he pondered over all these troubles, 'are happy

* Memoirs of Reign of George III.

'in the married state. The reason is because they are free 'to choose. One of my class must marry according to cer- 'tain conveniences, which is a most unhappy thing. The 'heart has nothing to do with these marriages, and the 'result is not only to embitter life, but also to bring the 'most disastrous experience on those who come after. The 'children are mostly cripples in mind and body.' 'As he 'spoke thus,' says Massenbach, 'there was a look of despair 'on his face, and I mentally compared his eldest son and 'heir with Forstenburg, his natural son.'*

The Peace of Paris was followed by a long period of repose in Central Europe, broken only by the short war of the Bavarian Succession, which was terminated, after a campaign on the Bohemian and Silesian frontiers, by the Peace of Teschen in 1779. This campaign, brief as it was, greatly increased the military reputation of the Hereditary Prince. The King selected him for the practically independent command of a force entrenched in the mountains at a post near Troppau, whence the Austrian commanders vainly attempted to dislodge him. He describes how his favourite nephew 'hunted his enemies, sometimes in the 'direction of Graetz, sometimes of Maerisch-Ostrau, some- 'times of Lichten,' and defeated with heavy loss the force of General Ellrichhausen by a turning movement of great skill, proving himself, says Carlyle, altogether a prince 'not to be pricked into gratis by Pandours.'† But even amid these successes the King complained that his favourite nephew seemed to him occasionally too ready to listen to divergent counsellors, and to follow the last opinion.‡

In 1780 the reigning Duke of Brunswick died, and the Hereditary Prince succeeded to the *disjecta membra* and the embarrassed finances of the duchy.

'Those,' says von Sybel, 'who saw him at this period at his little Court were astonished to find in the champion of Krefeldt and Minden a careful manager of the State, a zealous partaker and patron of every kind of intellectual progress, and an active and unpretending administrator. He gained the greater credit by imposing no smaller privations on himself than on the State, and by keeping up a very small army, notwithstanding all his fame as a general.'§

* Massenbach, i. 233–234. Forstenburg, who was beginning a brilliant military career, was killed during the campaign of 1793.

† Mémoires de Frédéric, ii. 485. Carlyle, 'Frederic the Great,' ed. 1865, vi. 600.

‡ Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, xvi. 277. Lehmann, 'Life of Scharnhorst,' i. 305.

§ Sybel, book iv. ch. i.

Féronce, the most trusted of his ministers, holds a high place among the reforming statesmen of Germany.

'He was adored by his subjects,' says Beugnot, whom Napoleon sent to Brunswick, after the duchy had ceased to exist in 1806; 'his acts of charity were not reckoned up, for it would have been an endless repetition. Intelligence, probity, devotion to the public good, were titles to his favour; and at a time when the Jews were shamefully persecuted in Germany he had placed a merchant of Brunswick, named Jacobson, on his Council of State—a Jew and attached to his religion, but a virtuous man and a philanthropist.' *

The edict of May 1, 1794, by which he introduced the principle of the control of all the revenues of the State, even of the domains, by the Estates, is a landmark in the parliamentary history of the Continent. A struggle with the Church over the control of education, though only partially successful, was the forerunner of similar and more successful battles elsewhere. The simplification of the machinery of administration, the division of commonable lands, the improvement of the roads, of the administration of charities and of the condition of the poor—every department, indeed, of affairs—received his untiring, it may be said his almost too minute personal attention. When, in 1790, he relieved his people from every extraordinary tax, he became the most popular prince of the Empire. Some of his reforms, indeed, fell short of a full measure of success, owing to the opposition of the Estates of Brunswick, which regarded them as an inroad on their ancient privileges; and the attempt to introduce the complete separation of secular and religious instruction had to be abandoned, owing to the ill-will and the hostility of the Lutheran clergy. But, after making allowance for the partial failure of some measures too much in advance of the time, his government of the duchy from 1780 to 1806 must always be regarded as a memorable chapter in the administrative history of Germany, and even of Europe; as plans were there first put into actual operation which set men asking why they could not be equally well introduced elsewhere, when their success was already patent to the world at large in Brunswick.

The Abbé Jérusalem compared the active mind of his old pupil to a flame confined in a fireproof chamber. Nature had endowed the Duke with a fine voice, which he used with a certain vehemence in conversation. He had an admirable ear for music, of which he was passionately fond; and when not

* Beugnot, vol. i. ch. x.

occupied with business, he would sit up late into the night performing on the violin, on which he was no mean proficient. His glance when irritated inspired fear; he insisted on the rapid and punctual execution of his orders, and was impatient of opposition. But his manner in general was full of a personal charm and attraction, which Walpole considered was the key to his success. He was very popular with his household, whom he good-humouredly allowed to tell him home truths: an old servant at Brunswick enjoying in this respect a specially privileged position. To the pleasures of the table and gambling he was entirely indifferent. He generally drank milk; never anything stronger than wine and water. Long dinners he particularly disliked, and on such occasions was generally observed to be moody and silent. A game of chess with an old friend was his favourite relaxation. He cared little for sport. Massenbach was of opinion that this was a misfortune, as it made him a less good judge of operations in mountainous and forest lands than he otherwise would have been. He possessed the faculty in an eminent degree of putting those who had business to transact with him at their ease in his presence, whether soldiers or civilians. He was polite almost to affectation, and had a perfect command of French. He could also converse in the local *patois* with the peasants on their affairs, which greatly increased his popularity; but he cared but little for country life, and seldom visited his estates except on business. His life was divided between Brunswick and the camp, and in them his real interests were entirely centred. It was only when without occupation that he seemed to give way to his naturally impatient disposition, and he then became dissatisfied with everybody, including himself.*

An enumeration of the able men who commenced or made their career under his auspices is the best tribute to his ability and power of discernment. It was at Brunswick that Hardenberg entered on official life. It was there that Campe began the reform of German education. It was the Duke who selected Lessing for the post of librarian at Wolfenbüttel; who put the Abbé Jérusalem at the head of the Collegium Carolinum, and brought Nardini from Italy to improve the musical taste of Germany. His unbiassed

* See the anonymous notes contributed to the last edition of the 'Biographie Universelle' in the article on the Duke, evidently from the pen of one of his household.

intelligence and fine sympathy for all the new and progressive ideas of the time rendered his Court second only to that of Berlin as the chosen resort of the *savants* and philosophers of France. Tall and vigorous both in mind and body, with a dignified and pleasant expression, an open countenance, eyes of a deep blue and full of fire, which were said to resemble those of Frederic the Great, and a manner so courteous as almost at times to seem exaggerated, he reminded General Toulongeon of one of the old French nobles, with all the native grace but without the inborn prejudices of their class.

Possessed of so many brilliant qualities, the Duke, by the time Frederic the Great was nearing his end, had come to be regarded as the appointed heir of the military glories and political ideas of the dynasty, dividing the honours only with Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother, and Marshal Moellendorf, the special adviser and personal friend, of the King's later years. But the health of the former was known to have now rendered him unwilling again to tempt fortune on the field of battle;* and the Marshal was considerably the senior of the Duke in point of years, and too modest to be a serious rival for power.

In 1785 the ambitious projects of the Emperor Joseph II. in Germany, and the disturbed condition of the Netherlands and of Holland, had led to the idea of the formation of a league of the minor German princes similar in character to the unions formed in earlier ages for the purpose of mutual defence. 'Nobody,' wrote the Duke of Gotha to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 'can be the head of the League except one 'person, the Duke of Brunswick. It would be an honour 'to serve under him.' But the Duke showed his usual deference for his uncle at Berlin by declining all advances, notwithstanding the entreaties of Hardenberg, until assured that an acceptance would meet with the 'highest approval.' The Fürstenbund of 1786, consisting of Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and other of the smaller States, under the hegemony of Prussia, was then formed.†

To Brunswick, attracted by these events, went Mirabeau in the month of July of that year, charged by Calonne with a secret mission, and hoping to rehabilitate his own tarnished reputation, and eventually to step on to the recognised

* See the passage in the 'Mémoires de Frédéric,' ii. 470 (ed. 1866), which was suppressed in the first edition.

† Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, xv. 277, 278.

ladder of public employment. We get a record of his conversations with the Duke in the famous confidential letters, the subsequent publication of which, under the pressure of financial need, forms one of the darkest chapters in his chequered career. Mirabeau was a keen observer of mankind. Nobody had a quicker eye for the detection of a sham and for the exposure of weak points than the statesman whose epigrams still adhere like blisters to the characters of so many of those with whom he came into collision at a later stage of his life. He at all events was fully persuaded that in the Duke he had seen a really great man; and his opportunities of observation were considerable. He visited the Duke at Brunswick on his way to and from Berlin, where he arrived almost at the moment of the death of the King; and the Duke himself, having been summoned to Berlin by that event, was in frequent communication with the French envoy at the capital.*

'The Duke,' says Mirabeau, in a sketch characteristic in more ways than one of the times, 'will certainly not be thought a common man even among men of merit. His person bespeaks depth and penetration and a desire to please, tempered by fortitude—nay, by sternness. He is prodigiously laborious, well informed, and perspicuous. However able his first minister, Féronce, may be, the Duke superintends all affairs, and generally decides for himself. His correspondence is immense, and this he can only owe to his personal reputation, because he cannot be sufficiently wealthy to keep so many correspondents in pay. Few great Courts are so well informed as he is. His mistress, Mlle. von Hartfeld, is the most reasonable woman at Court; and so proper is his attachment that when he had a short time since discovered an inclination for another lady, the Duchess leagued with Mlle. Hartfeld to keep her at a distance. Truly an Alcibiades, he delights in the pleasures and the graces; but these never subtract anything from his labours or his duties, not even those of prudence. When he is to act as a Prussian general, no one is so early, so active, so minute as himself. It is a mark of superior character and understanding, in my opinion, that the labour of the day can less properly be said to be sufficient for him than he is for the labour of the day: his first ambition is that of executing it well. Not intoxicated by military success, though universally pointed out as a great general (especially since the campaign of 1778, during which he all the winter maintained a naturally weak position at Troppau—to which the King of Prussia attached a kind of vanity—against every effort of the Austrians), he appears effectually to have quitted military

* In 1787 Mirabeau paid another long visit to Brunswick when engaged on the 'Monarchie Prussienne,' but the Duke had then started on his way to Holland. See his 'Mémoires,' vol. iv. livre v.

glory to betake himself to the cares of government. He is, in a word, a man of an uncommon stamp, but too wise to be formidable to the wise. He delights greatly in France, with which he is exceedingly well acquainted, and appears to be very fond of whatever comes from that country.' *

The Duke denied to Mirabeau having ever been fond of war, even when most fortunate. He pointed out how, independently even of principle, both family and personal interest must make him strongly averse to it. 'Even if,' he said, in words almost prophetic, 'it were necessary in an 'affair so important to consult nothing beyond the con-'temptible gratification of self-esteem, do I not know how 'much war is the sport of chance? I have formerly not 'been unfortunate. Hereafter I might be a better general, 'and yet might not have the same success.' †

At the moment when these two remarkable men met the Great Powers may be said to have been divided into the following groups. Under the Family Compact, France, Spain and Naples were still intimately allied. The first of these Powers was also closely connected with Austria, under the arrangements made in 1756 by the Abbé de Bernis. Austria and Russia were engaged in a war with Turkey, and were united by an alliance formed in 1781 for eight years, and about to be renewed for a further term. Russia, supported by Denmark, was engaged in a war against Sweden, and was known to entertain acquisitive designs along her whole frontier: against Turkey, against Poland, against the Duchy of Courland, and against Finland. England had just concluded the commercial arrangements of 1786 with France, which Pitt regarded as the first step towards establishing improved political relations also. In the Netherlands the great English minister desired to stay the effects of the rash reforms and meddlesome policy of the Emperor Joseph II.; and in Holland to check the subversive plans of the party hostile to the Stadhouder. This party was supported by the intrigues of Calonne and the statesmen in France hostile to Prussia, which, owing to the marriage of the Stadhouder with the daughter of the King, had dynastic as well as political ties with Holland. In the East Pitt desired to withstand the advance of Russia, not from any sympathy with Turkey, but on grounds of general policy. The Emperor Joseph II., contrary to the plans of his pre-

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History of the Court of Berlin,' i. 18–21.
† Ibid., i. 12.

decessors on the throne, was supporting the aggressive designs of the great northern empire, and hoped to obtain the active support of France in so doing.* Between the interests of England and of Prussia Pitt considered that there was a complete identity of aims; and he would gladly have extended his policy so as to have included France in a common understanding, had France so been willing.

In August 1786 Frederic the Great died. 'The old must 'give place to the young,' he had written to his sister at Brunswick six days before the end, 'in order that each 'generation may find a place for itself. Indeed, life is little 'else than witnessing the births and deaths of our country-'men. . . . My heart is always inviolably attached to you, 'my dear sister.' † In his will, in addition to other legacies, the King left to his nephew, the Duke, eight horses, amongst others the last that he had mounted,‡ a tolerably clear designation who he thought was most fit to be his military heir. Mirabeau was himself sure that the Duke was the destined successor of the King in the political control of the country also.

'It is peculiar to him, and to him alone,' he wrote, 'that should he once grasp power he will not afterwards let it escape him; for a better courtier, a man of deeper views, more subtile, and at the same time more firm and more pertinacious, does not exist. . . . Who then must be the pilot? Evidently the Duke. Of this I have no doubt. Not in the least boastful and most adroit, he will be the man of the situation, not immediately perhaps, but when the necessity shall call him. . . . I believe it all the more because in the day of trouble the petty self-love of his rivals will only be an additional incentive to fear; because this Prince is of all men most able to spare the self-love in question; because he will be content to act without appearing to do so; and because he will seem the servant of servants; the most courtly, the most humble, the cleverest of courtiers; while a hand of iron will fetter all paltry views, all petty intrigues, and every faction.' §

Contemptible in point of ability as was the successor of Frederic the Great, he nevertheless began by maintaining Hertzberg in power, who was regarded as representing the policy and traditions of the late King. The Duke accepted the staff of a field-marshal, and an opportunity for the display of his military abilities on a more important

* Ségur, 'Mémoires et Souvenirs,' iii. 553.
† Lord Dover, 'Life of Frederic the Great,' ii. 454.
‡ Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 103.
§ Ibid., i. 18, 82, 112, 131, 137, 346; ii. 42.

field and a larger scale than any yet granted to him was almost immediately afforded him. An invasion of Holland had been decided upon. The Duke had told Mirabeau that he ardently desired to see a good understanding between France and Prussia; but that the former had rendered it difficult by her friendship with Austria, and still more by her recent conduct in regard to Holland, the Bavarian Succession, and the East of Europe. In all these questions France had supported Austria and Russia; and in Holland she had supported the party opposed to Prussia. His own plan would have been an alliance between France, Prussia, and England, which should command all others to remain at peace: 'a 'sublime and seductive idea,' as Mirabeau acknowledged.* It was one he had himself, he said, been ruminating for seven years. We have already seen that such an idea was not outside the scheme of the foreign policy of Pitt. But the support given by France to the party in Holland opposed to the Stadhouder encouraged that party to an open attack, and rendered useless all the plans which were floating through Mirabeau's brain. The situation was judged dangerous both in London and Berlin; and when finally the Stadhouder had to fly the country, a Prussian army was sent to restore order and the authority of the House of Orange. The command of the expedition by universal accord was entrusted to the Duke. The invasion of Holland meant the possibility of a war with France. The Duke had once hinted to Mirabeau that in the event of the French party in Holland proving intractable, a military occupation of the country by Prussia, with the support of England, would be inevitable. 'There is 'little need I should remark,' Mirabeau had retorted, 'that 'the conquest which Louis XIV., Turenne, Condé, Luxem-'bourg, Louvois, and two hundred thousand French could 'not make, will never be effected by Prussia, watched as she 'is by the Emperor, and now that Holland is supported by 'France.'† But the result entirely belied these anticipations. The campaign was short and brilliant. English readers can follow the account of it in the letters of Lord Malmesbury, who accompanied the Prussian advance.‡ France, torn by domestic discord, failed to support her friends, and the Duke returned to Germany with his military reputation enormously enhanced. But it was the opinion of competent

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 48, 49.
† Ibid., i. 312.
‡ In the Malmesbury Memoirs, vol. ii.

observers that the facile glory of this campaign was one of the principal causes of the subsequent ruin of Prussia, by encouraging an overweening opinion of the invincibility of the army. Not that the Duke himself was deceived by his own success. He told the younger Custine in 1792, that his army had run the most frightful risks, and that the Dutch, with the commonest prudence, might have destroyed it. On his return, the Duchess observed, notwithstanding the enormous increase of his popularity, that he seemed to be suffering from the nervous strain of these risks, and shortly after he became for a time very seriously ill.*

As the result of these operations, and in order to confirm their fruits, England and Prussia guaranteed the Hereditary Stadhoudership to the House of Orange, and formed the Triple Alliance of 1788 with Holland, with a view to the general maintenance of the *status quo* in Europe, so gravely menaced by the ambitions of Catherine II. and Joseph II. For two years this alliance was the dominant factor in the European situation.†

But in the eyes of Hertzberg there were limitations to the application of Pitt's conservative doctrines. At the time of the first Partition of Poland, Frederic the Great had coveted the two districts of Dantzig and Thorn, which since the Partition lay almost embedded in Prussian territory. Hertzberg, in order to obtain them, proposed to secure the retrocession by Austria of a portion of Galicia to Poland. Poland was thereupon to surrender Dantzig and Thorn to Prussia. With this view he was ready to offer Poland a guarantee of her remaining territories and government. If Austria, supported by Russia, resisted this arrangement, which was to be recommended to Austria by the cession to her by Turkey of the territory lost at the time of the Treaty of Belgrade, Hertzberg wished to let loose against Russia a coalition, in which England, Sweden, Holland, Turkey, and Poland were to be the contracting parties. The discontent in the Austrian Netherlands at the high-handed reforms of Joseph II. made him also devise a scheme for the recognition of their independence. He proposed to avoid the risk of their annexation to France by an agreement with Pitt for their ultimate annexation to Holland, and to resist the various schemes of the Emperor Joseph

* Mission de Custine à Brunswick: Revue Historique, i. 177. Malmesbury, iii. 156.

† See Mr. Lecky's observations, v. 273.

for the extension of the dominion of the House of Austria in Germany, whether by the old and favourite plan of the exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for the High Palatinate, or otherwise.

At Berlin two divergent streams of opinion in regard to the proper policy to be pursued by Germany towards Russia had long existed. The rise into power and importance of the great Northern State, then first recognised as a force looming up huge and portentous on the political horizon, had for the previous quarter of a century been causing serious misgivings in the minds of the statesmen of Western Europe. Shelburne, in 1782, had told Rayneval that he had wished in 1766 to hold a firm and decisive language to Russia and Prussia, and thereby prevent the first dismemberment of Poland,* even then felt to be inevitable, unless some steps were taken to cure the anarchy of the country, which Russia laboured to maintain in her own interest.

'Russia is a terrible Power,' Frederic the Great had written to Prince Henry in March 1769; 'in another half-century it will be making all Europe tremble. The issue of the Gepidæ and the Huns, who destroyed the Eastern Empire, they are capable before long of impairing the Western Empire, and of filling the Austrians with sentiments of grief and repentance that they, by their mistaken policy, have invited this barbarous nation into Germany, and have taught it the art of war. . . . I foresee no other remedy than in time forming a league of the Great Powers to resist this dangerous torrent.' †

But notwithstanding this deliberate expression of opinion, a different policy had prevailed; and Frederic, not being able to dam up the torrent, chose the alternative of staying any further advance by Russia towards the Black Sea by allowing her partly to dismember Poland in 1772, on the condition that Prussia should receive a large share in the spoils. The weakness of Turkey and of Poland in 1790 was now again presenting Prussia with a choice between the two alternatives; and, as in 1772, each policy had supporters. Pitt and Hertzberg were exerting their powerful influence in favour of restraining the further advance of Russia. With most of the old soldiers of the Seven Years War there was a tradition of hostility to Russia. How strongly the current was running in this direction in Berlin can be realised, when we find Lucchesini, whom Lord Malmesbury afterwards de-

* Life of Shelburne, iii. 262.

† The King to Prince Henry, March 8, 1769. Sorel, 'La Question d'Orient au XVIII Siècle,' p. 43.

clared had been bought by Russia, writing to Göltz in January, 1791:—'God be willing that we maintain the war-'like tone which beseems us. We must absolutely revenge 'ourselves on these filthy Scythians, who, spoilt by fortune, 'have forgotten the days of Frankfurt and Zorndorf.' *

These views were fully shared by the Duke. He wrote a memorandum to the effect that the further partition of Poland would be as dangerous to Prussia as the conquest of Holland by France; since by the former Russia would advance to the Vistula, while by the latter France would advance to the Rhine.† Mirabeau reported that he showed the greatest anxiety in regard to the 'oriental system' of Russia, and strongly objected to all new arrangements tending to the dissolution of Poland, which, in his opinion, required to be reconstituted with readjusted boundaries as a defence to the eastern frontier of Prussia. He therefore threw the whole of his weight into the support of the policy of Hertzberg and Pitt, so as to check, if possible, the external encroachments of Russia and the internal intrigues of Austria. 'I keep up my family connexions,' he said to Mirabeau. 'We perhaps shall be the last who will be 'smitten by the overthrow of the Germanic body, because of 'the confraternity which unites us to the Elector of Hanover.' He was apparently also ruminating a project of his own for the reconstruction of the Germanic Confederation, for he could not fail to perceive that the antique and ruinous body must be propped up in order to be preserved; and that if it was not to fall, it must be repaired. ‡

It would appear that an offer was actually made to him at this time of the crown of a new projected State, which was to consist of Limburg, Gueldres, and Luxemburg. There is also little doubt that his name was mentioned for the reversion of the crown of Poland; but he foresaw that if rearrangements of territory on a large scale once began in Europe, his own duchy might be endangered in some new distribution; and that the idea of personal aggrandisement was inconsistent with his own view of his true position as a German prince. He was at bottom more German than Prussian, however much he dreaded putting himself into opposition with Prussia. He observed with regret the tendency the King was already beginning to show to lean

* Creux, 'Pitt et Frédéric Guillaume II,' p. 99.
† Massenbach, ii. 58.
‡ Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 30, 274, 277, 321.

towards Russia, and above all things he dreaded the influence of Prince Henry, 'that partitioning Prince,' as he termed him, who he said might some day prove the worst enemy of his country,* and carry out even more dangerous schemes than the first partition of Poland, of which he had been the principal adviser. But his broad and statesmanlike ideas, Mirabeau began to observe, were largely paralysed by an inveterate tendency to see two sides to every question, and to be unable to decide between them when action was required. His brilliant imagination and ambitious energy began by catching fire at first emotions, although at the moment he might betray no outward symptoms but those of tranquillity; but the rein he had long since learnt to put upon his passions 'reconducted him to the hesita-'tion of experience, and to a superabundant circumspection 'with which his great distrust of mankind, and his chief foible '—his dread of losing his reputation—incessantly inspired.' He also seemed to Mirabeau to have another great weakness: 'a prodigious dread of having his reputation injured even by 'the most contemptible Zoilus,' and to suffer, as a natural consequence, from a tendency to listen too easily to praise, 'if gracefully embellished and artfully concealed.'

The Convention of Reichenbach, by which Austria was detached from the Russian alliance, in August 1790, was the first victory of Pitt's policy. It had the immediate effect of inducing Russia to make a moderate peace with Sweden in order to prevent that Power joining the hostile coalition which Hertzberg was known to be designing. Denmark had meanwhile been compelled to withdraw from any further attack on Sweden, and a treaty had been concluded between Poland and Prussia on March 29, 1790, by which the two States mutually agreed to guarantee one another's territory without prejudice to their rights to settle any outstanding territorial questions which had existed before the conclusion of the treaty. Dantzig and Thorn were meant by the negotiators, but any cession of territory was known to be so unpopular in Poland as to make it dangerous to mention the matter publicly, at least for the moment, and Pitt desired, if possible, to avoid territorial changes.

Thus far the policy of the Triple Alliance had been eminently successful. The death of the Emperor Joseph on

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 312–314. Notes by Alphonse de Beauchamp in the 'Biographie Universelle, iv. 50, nouvelle édition. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, xv. 279.

February 10, 1790, had materially assisted it, not only by removing his ambitious personality from the scene, but by substituting for him on the throne the cautious and politic Leopold II., who was well affected to Poland, and desired to see a thorough reform of the constitution of that kingdom carried out. There now remained only the war between Russia and Turkey to terminate, and the peace of Europe would be secure. To that object Pitt and Hertzberg, supported by the Duke, now directed their attention. France was already paralysed by increasing domestic discord, and the new men were known to be favourable to a Prussian alliance. Encouraged probably by the reversion of Austria, after the death of Joseph II., to her traditional policy of resisting the progress of Russia to the northern bank and mouths of the Danube, Pitt now made an advance on his former strictly conservative policy, and smiled on the plans of Hertzberg in regard to Dantzig and Thorn, evidently believing that the favourable attitude adopted by the Emperor Leopold towards Poland would facilitate them, by facilitating the proposed exchange with part of Galicia, while Russia was to be coerced by a threat of war into accepting them and also into making peace with Turkey.

How the policy of Pitt and Hertzberg was defeated by the series of events connected with the failure of the British Government to secure the support of Parliament for the so-called 'Russian armament' of 1791, by the dread excited at Berlin at the idea that a reformed and reconstituted Poland might itself prove a menace to Prussia, and by the obstinate refusal of the Poles to surrender any territory whatever even by way of exchange, and by the alarm caused at Vienna and Berlin by the course of events in France, is part of the general history of Europe. These events shook even the strong position of Pitt in England, and gave the long-wished-for opportunity to the enemies of Hertzberg in Prussia to charge him with failure. In Frederic William II. they unfortunately found a ready listener, especially when, instigated by Catherine II., they were able to tell the superstitious monarch that the finger of God pointed, not to a war to save Poland from Russia, but to a crusade to put down the anarchists of France, while she performed the same kindly office towards the reformers at Warsaw.

After the brief attempt already described to appear as the continuator of the traditions of the previous reign, Frederic William II. had surrendered himself to the influence of mistresses—of Mme. Rietz, *née* Henck, who was created

Countess of Lichtenau; of Countess Doehnhoff, whom he married, *de la main gauche*; and of Mdlle. de Voss, who blossomed into the Countess von Ingenheim. It was even more detrimental to the interests of the State that the King allowed himself to be influenced by the spiritualistic ideas of the illuminati and by the Rosicrucian Society. These mystics and religionists with Wöllner their high priest disseminated an atmosphere of mawkish and sentimental pietism around them, and pretended to be able to evoke the shades of Moses, Cæsar, and Jesus Christ. The true heirs of Frederic the Great had no place at such a Court, though Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, then tending to a condition of dotage, joined the new sect. Hertzberg and his colleagues were pushed aside in favour of supple courtiers, such as Lucchesini and Lombard. In military affairs an outward show of respect was preserved for the Duke and for Moellendorff; but Mannstein and Bischoffswerder, who had the support of the illuminati, and both professed, however jealous of each other, to hold their tenets, had the ear of the King. Favouritism reigned triumphant; the royal treasure was dissipated; and the whole system of the late reign was rapidly disorganised. 'The master, what 'is he?' Mirabeau had said in 1786. 'It would be rash at 'present to decide, though one might be strongly tempted 'to reply "King Log." No understanding, no fortitude, 'no consistency, no industry: in his pleasures the Hog of 'Epicurus, and the hero only of a pride which we should 'perhaps better describe as a kind of narrow and vulgar 'vanity.' *

By 1791 this forecast had been only too amply justified.

'Oh! this Lichtenau,' said Massenbach, for once becoming almost humorous; 'the wife of two men, and the courtesan of the favours of every big-boned and lusty youth! And then, too, all these subordinate assistant concubines, whose only fatherland is the theatre! . . . Every heir to a throne should have three works, not under his pillow, but on his writing table. The first is Machiavelli's immortal work; the second, Gibbon; the third, Adam Smith. But I never met Machiavelli, or Gibbon, or Adam Smith, when I have had to pay my respects to Frau von Voss.' †

Under the system which now ruled it has been pithily said that 'the officers interfered in Church matters, the 'theologians in political affairs, the diplomatists lectured

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 330.

† Massenbach, ii. 155, 158.

'the generals, and the generals felt themselves called upon 'to give their opinion on foreign policy, a state of things by 'which each and all were necessarily injured. It gave the 'country an administration affecting piety, a bureaucratic 'Church, and a political army.' *

The whole grouping of the European Powers was now quickly changed. Hertzberg had fallen, and the alliance of Prussia with Austria with reference to events in France was the first consequence. The abandonment of the favourable policy of Prussia towards Poland, which was the legacy of Hertzberg's policy, was the next sacrifice. In the place of the recent guarantee of the integrity of the Polish territories, an agreement with Russia, on the model of the first partition, was gradually substituted. Poland, after the sudden death, by smallpox, of the Emperor Leopold, on February 29, 1792, soon found herself abandoned by Austria also, and was left an easy prey to Russia, which, after concluding a favourable peace with Turkey, in January of that year, found herself with an entirely free hand in the East. This abrupt transition of policy on the part of Prussia was fatal to all the ideas of the Duke as a party leader. For resistance to Russia was now substituted an attack on France, and the policy of the reconstruction of Poland was displaced in favour of the second dismemberment of that unhappy country: at the very moment when, encouraged by the example of Sweden and the good will of the Emperor Leopold, she had cast herself free from the interested intrigues of Russia, and was reforming her government and administration. Poland was in future merely considered a convenient fund by the three Great Powers to draw upon: the fund in which Prussia was to find a compensation for the expenses of her share of the crusade against France; Russia for the temporary abandonment of her hostile designs against Turkey; and Austria for the abandonment of the ambitious schemes which she had so long entertained in Germany.

It was in connexion with this projected change of policy on the part of Prussia that, in the month of February, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick was summoned to Berlin to give his advice on the military aspects of the new situation. In the previous year he had found in a serious illness a fortunate excuse for not attending the conferences at Pillnitz,† and in now obeying the summons of the King to Berlin he commenced the ruin of his own career. At the

* Sybel, book iv. ch. i.

† Massenbach, i. 23.

commencement of 1792 he was at the height of his reputation. He held the first military rank in what was regarded as the finest army in Europe; he could at any moment have received the chief command in the Imperial service, if he had desired to have it; he had been offered the sovereignty of part of the Low Countries by one set of reformers, and, it was said, the reversion of the throne of Poland by another. Hertzberg's early successes had been due to his support. He was connected by political agreement with the great Minister who ruled England, and by marriage with her Royal House. If he had gone down into the grave at the same date as the Emperor Leopold, men would have said afterwards that not the least of the misfortunes of Europe had been that, on the eve of the events which followed, she had untimely lost the one man able to pilot her through those troublous events; the general able to lead her armies; the statesman pre-eminently fitted to moderate victory by prudence; and historians would have delighted to linger round the problem of what the later action of his life might have been, even as they still speculate whether Mirabeau would have been able to bend the fierce democracy of France to his will, or if Chatham would have succeeded in restoring a good understanding with the American colonies, had his life been prolonged.

An incident had just happened which proved in a remarkable degree how great was the desire to secure his services. At the commencement of 1792 a constitutional ministry had been formed in France to meet the recently elected Assemblée Législative. In this ministry Narbonne had the leading part. Delessart was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Narbonne himself was Minister for War. He held the view that the security of the King depended on the strict yet vigorous support of the new Constitution, and on the adoption of a spirited foreign policy against Austria. Though for a totally different set of reasons, the Girondins, who dominated the recently elected Assembly, held an identical view in regard to the policy to be pursued abroad. But for a great foreign war no general existed in the country who commanded public confidence. Lafayette, Rochambeau, Biron, Custine, and the aged Prussian soldier of fortune, Lückner, were the most prominent men in the service. But neither they nor Narbonne himself were judged fully equal to the emergency. It was determined to look further afield, and Narbonne declared

the Duke to be the man of the hour. The Girondins, even the Jacobins, regarded him as one of the friends of liberty. His sympathy with everything French, like that of Frederic the Great, was notorious. 'He only lacks a crown,' said Carra, one of the most famous journalists of the day, 'to 'be, I do not say the greatest of kings, but the restorer of 'the freedom of Europe. Should he arrive in Paris, I 'am ready to bet that his first step will be to go to the 'Jacobin Club and put on the bonnet rouge.' * Dumouriez had done something of the kind, and Dumouriez was a known admirer of the Duke; so was Talleyrand. Lafayette approved the idea of sending for him; Mme. de Staël supported it with enthusiasm, and Delessart, though apparently unwillingly, accepted it and placed it before the King and Queen, who in their turn also adopted it. Such was the origin of the proposal which led in 1792 to the mission of François de Custine, the son of the general already mentioned. He accepted it with delight, and to Brunswick he accordingly repaired, armed with a private letter from Louis XVI. as his credential to the Duke. The French Archives contain the story of the mission in a series of despatches between Custine and Delessart. Custine arrived at Brunswick in the early part of January. He was a little disappointed at not finding the Duke so ardent a Liberal and Democrat as he had expected.

'He appeared indeed to identify himself,' Custine wrote, 'with the position of our party in France, and, speaking generally, with our principles. Some of them he had always approved, but to give a just and complete idea of him it was necessary to acknowledge that many others of these principles he totally disapproved, although his truly philosophical intellect thereby came sometimes into conflict with opposite sentiments.' 'I cannot define him better,' he summed up in his report, 'than by likening him to those reformers in our own country who, as they are endowed with intelligence and enlightenment, are the partisans neither of the aristocracy, nor of the clergy, nor of the long robe, nor of an arbitrary and despotic system. But with reference to that absolute equality of rights on which our Constitution rests, it claims the allegiance of his intellect, but not his sympathy; he approves it possibly, but of a certainty he loves it not.' †

Custine, in fact, found in the Duke 'un grand seigneur 'philosophe, mais au demeurant un grand seigneur,' with as little love for democracy as for the clergy, and quite

* Précis de la défense de Carra (1793), quoted by Sorel in 'La Mission de Custine à Brunswick: Revue Historique,' i. 157.

† Rapport à Delessart, Feb. 13, 1792, ib. 163.

prepared to see in the Revolution another 'infâme à écraser.' His criticism of prejudices, his zeal for particular reforms, were, he said, united in him, as they were in Voltaire and Frederic, 'to a profound contempt for the vile multitude 'and for the ignorance of the mob.'

The Duke told Custine that he was satisfied with his own position. His business was to command the Prussian army in time of war and to administer his Duchy in time of peace. He absolutely disowned all sympathy for the *émigrés*, and for the absolutist sympathies of the Court of Berlin; but he expressed pity for the position of the King of France, and a regret that the French Constitution had not established two Chambers, as Mirabeau had wished. He found no difficulty in clearly pointing out to Custine the impossibility of the proposal put before him. Custine, however, returned to the charge again and again. Like Mirabeau before him, he became more and more impressed by the ability and character of his host in proportion as his stay at Brunswick was prolonged. But the Duke was immoveable. If war broke out it would, he said, be a war of aggression by France, and therefore, if placed in command of the French army, he would not be able to rely on the enthusiasm always evoked by foreign attack and invasion. The German princes were not going to attack France.

'What, then, would be my business?' he asked. 'To succeed by means sought in the genius of your nation, to which I am a foreigner, to give to your army the degree of discipline required by your new *régime*, and to regenerate it by a good selection of officers in a country where I practically know nobody. Believe me, the commonplaces and the sophistries of those who might asseverate that it would be against royalty that I would have to go and fight are not what can hinder me. I know what to think of such declamations, and to reduce them to their proper value. During the course of my existence I have not avoided great undertakings, and I know how to appreciate a leading *rôle* on the stage of the first theatre in the world. But I would have to be a very presumptuous or a very incapable man were I not to feel in this affair the utter impossibility of success; and being certain, as I am, in my present position of commanding some troops—if they are confided to me—at least as well as anybody else, I have too much *amour-propre* to be willing to risk my reputation in an enterprise altogether too hazardous and complicated.' *

So spoke the philosophic Duke; and after some further interviews this curious negotiation came to the inevitable

* Ibid. p. 167.

end. An imperfect knowledge of the circumstances led M. de Lamartine and M. Louis Blanc to exaggerate the offers made by Custine into an offer by the constitutional party of the throne of France to the Duke.* Custine returned to Paris, to perish, before the end of 1793, on the scaffold on which his father had died before him; while the Duke, as we have already seen, was summoned to Berlin to advise on an enterprise of an exactly opposite character to that to which he had been invited by Narbonne. He had just told Custine that the German sovereigns were not going to attack France; but on his arrival at Berlin he was offered by the King, in his name and that of the head of the House of Austria, the supreme command of the army which it had been decided should invade France; and he was directed to prepare a plan of campaign for the conquest of the very country which he had just been invited to defend. In an ill-starred moment he obeyed the royal commands.

In his conversations with Mirabeau and Custine the Duke had shown the finer side of his mind. We see his unbiassed judgement and penetrating intellect criticising the European situation with marvellous sagacity, and refusing to be tempted into hazardous enterprises, even into those which political sympathy or the chance of further renown might have rendered most attractive. But at Berlin all is different. There he allows himself to be overawed by the King into becoming the adviser and the director of an enterprise essentially distasteful to him: an enterprise dangerous in his opinion to the political interests of Prussia, because certain to leave Russia a free hand in the East, and doubly dangerous from a military standpoint because of the existing confusion and corruption at Berlin. The enterprise, too, was the project of the King, of whose capacity the Duke had the lowest opinion, and of the French *émigrés*, whose ideas he detested, however willing he was to accord personal hospitality to the Duc de Castries and other old antagonists of the Seven Years' War, who had taken refuge at Brunswick.† He had told Custine, as he also told Massenbach, that he was very far from being of the opinion that the want of discipline of the French army was likely to cause a general rout, as the *émigrés* pretended was certain to be the case; that, on the contrary, he thought war would itself bring the remedy to that evil; that the valour of the French,

* Histoire des Girondins, v. xxii. Hist. de la Révolution, vi. 249.
† Massenbach, iii. 241. Life of Beugnot, vol. i. ch. x.

excited to the highest pitch by the peculiar passions of the hour, would without doubt be equal to their established reputation; that, if he had to lead an attack on France, he would carefully avoid taking any precipitate course, or fighting pitched battles, in which chance always counted for much, as a French victory would mean ruin to her enemies, while a French defeat would be very far from definitely settling matters; and that his own plan would be to move several armies to different points of the frontier, and maintain them there, in the occupation of positions impregnable to attack, and there await the ruin of the French from internal divisions and disorganised finances, rather than from an overt attack, which would only rouse them to preternatural exertions.* Yet, at the request of the King, he now drew up a plan for the invasion of France and a direct march on Paris, and consented to lead the attack in person, at the same time carefully annotating the plan as not really his own, but that of the King, so as to justify himself before posterity. In the inner circle of his friends he did not keep back the expression of his dissatisfaction at not having been consulted on the policy of the expedition, instead of only on the military means of carrying it out. Nothing of any real advantage to Germany could result from it, in his opinion. He at once recognised the immense forces, the unknown strength, which lay behind the apparent confusion of things in France. No professional pedantry blinded him. Disorganised the French army and administration undoubtedly were, and whence they would get officers or supplies might not be clear, 'but a headlong plunge into the crater he 'dreaded above all things.' 'Our other complications may 'unravel themselves,' he wrote to the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, 'but would to heaven we had done with these French 'devils!' And he plainly 'told Frederic William that 'events might occur of which the consequences would be 'incalculable, as the heads governing France were under 'the influence of an effervescence from which the most 'extraordinary results might be anticipated.'† As to the Bischoffswerders and the Mannsteins, and the royal entourage generally, the late King, in his opinion, would have

* Custine to Delessart, February 24, 1792. Revue Historique, i. 176. Massenbach, i. 267.

† Sybel, book iv. ch. i., who is quoting from the correspondence at Brunswick to which he was given access, and also refers to Schlieffen's 'Denkwürdigkeiten.' Massenbach, i. 267–278.

quickly sent them all about their business. But it was to the plans of the Bischoffswerders, the Mannsteins, and the *émigrés*, that now, at the crisis of his career, he abandoned his own mature opinions, both on the political issues and the military methods to be adopted.*

There are mental conformations which are rendered faulty by a marked disproportion between the ingredients of intellect and of will, of mind and of moral force. A less penetrating and perfect intelligence, under the driving power of a more powerful will, often produces greater results than a broader intelligence moved by a comparatively weak character. So now, when the decisive moment arrived, which Mirabeau had indicated must sooner or later come, when the Duke would have to decide if he would act with authority or not, it was proved that the early suspicions of Gaudi and Westphalen were true, and that while nature had granted him every faculty of the intellect with an unstinted hand, circumstances, if not nature herself, had deprived him of the equally necessary quality of moral determination. Hardenberg is said to have once implored him, if he disapproved the proposals put before him, at least to say '*No*' to them in a determined manner.† It was his want of power to do this, his lack of civil as distinct from military courage, which give so protean an aspect to his career, and account for the opposite verdicts of his contemporaries, sometimes from the same persons, according as the intellectual resources of his mind, or his failure to give effect to his own conceptions, were at the moment most present to the mind of the writer.

Lord Malmesbury, who accompanied the expedition to Holland, and was afterwards specially accredited to the Court of Brunswick, describes, on one occasion, how the Duke, having laid aside all his *finesse* and suspicion, 'appeared in all 'his lustre;' and then soon after declares him to be 'all 'suspicion, cunning, and irresolution;' and 'to want 'mental decision;' adding that he failed in these respects as much as his daughter, Princess Caroline, did 'in 'character and tact,' which was to say a good deal.‡ Stein abuses him for his conduct in 1792 as 'selfish and insincere;' but in 1804 declares him to be the one 'noble' exception to the general meanness and imbecility of the lesser German royalties. § Massenbach at one moment compares

* Malmesbury, iii. 166, 167.
† Ranke, Hardenberg, i. 81.
‡ Malmesbury, 'Diary,' iii. 159, 160, 190.
§ Life of Stein, by Sir John Seeley, i. ch. iii. iv.

him to the hesitating Mornay of Voltaire's 'Henriade,' who condemns the battle, pities his master, and then follows; at another he says he is the only man who can save Germany or is fit to command the army.* He extols the Duke in 1791 as the greatest general in the world; in 1792, after a remarkable instance of hesitancy at Homburg, he declares that he washes his hands of him altogether. In 1793, after the victories of Pirmasens and Kaiserslautern, he devotes page after page to panegyrics of the Duke's military skill and greatness of character.† In 1799 he fills the air with lamentations on the impossibility of inducing the Duke to act with resolution and to seize the helm of the State. In 1805 and 1806 we find him denouncing his want of strength of character; and then, finally, after the Duke's death, declaring that he, and he only, might have been able to save the situation after the battle of Jena. The worst of it was perhaps that the Duke knew his own weakness. 'I cannot resist it,' he told Sir James Harris; 'it is stronger 'than I.'‡ With advancing years the failing did not diminish. It was heightened by the apprehension, constantly present to his mind, that if the policy of his own little Duchy did not move in the orbit fixed from Berlin, he might bring political ruin on his family. It was further stimulated by an almost superstitious feeling as to the military obedience due by him to the King, which compelled him, as he thought, though a sovereign prince, to obey, as a marshal of the Prussian army, whatever orders came from the successor of Frederic the Great, incompetent—in his own well-matured judgement—as he knew that successor to be, and thoroughgoing as was his own contempt for all the subordinate personalities of the Berlin Court, whom he depicted to Custine either as odious or as personally ridiculous.§

The Duke had a horror of the *émigrés*, who swarmed into his camp at Koblentz. 'He could scarcely,' says an eye-witness, 'find elbow-room in the crowd of them. He paid 'compliment after compliment, and made obeisances to the 'very ground; but his cheeks glowed, and his eyes glittered

* Chuquet, 'La Première Invasion Prussienne,' p. 127.

† 'Ich betrachtete Carln Wilhelm Ferdinand als den Hirt und Stolz der Preussen und den Heros des Zeitalters.' Massenbach, ii. 47.

‡ Malmesbury, iii. 160.

§ Custine to Delessart, February 13, 1793. Revue Historique, i. 173. Malmesbury Memoirs, iii. 173.

'like those of a tiger.'* And yet from Koblentz on July 25 was issued the celebrated manifesto to the French people, which embodied all the fiercest passions of the French *émigrés*, and this manifesto, alas! was signed 'Brunswick.' It is immaterial whether the publication, coming as it did at so critical a moment, was or was not the cause of the excesses of September in Paris. This will be a matter of permanent controversy. But the misery of the thing is that the most liberal and enlightened prince of his time, a known sympathiser with France and with all reasonable reforms, should, contrary to his own feelings and wishes, have allowed himself to yield to the wishes of the King, and be persuaded into attaching his name to this fatal document—and subsequently to two others of the same character—of which not he, but one M. Geoffroy de Limon, who was acting as secretary to the Comte de Provence and his little cabinet of exiles, was the real author. When Bertrand de Molleville, in his 'Memoirs,' charged the Duke with having been the author of the manifesto, he solemnly denied it, and asked if people wished to take him for an 'unreflecting 'madcap.'† Years after, when Massenbach observed on the fearful menaces they had then hurled against France, 'Ah,' replied the Duke, 'that unlucky manifesto! I shall 'repent it to the last day of my life. What would I not 'give never to have signed it!'‡

'A great man,' said the 'Moniteur,' 'has made himself 'the instrument of a faction.' 'It is the *émigrés*,' wrote the Italian adventurer Gorani from Paris to the Duke—and the Duke got the letter—'who have deceived your 'Highness.' He was wrong. The Duke had yielded in despite of his own better knowledge.§ Klopstock, with the true voice of genius, had already called on him, for the sake of his own reputation, to throw up the command; and Klopstock was right. But the Duke allowed himself to be persuaded into keeping it.

Next to the *émigrés* the Duke most of all disliked his Austrian allies, whom he suspected from the Emperor Francis II. downwards of ambitious designs. 'The Duke of 'Brunswick,' Pellenc wrote to Pitt, 'is, without fear of con-

* Massenbach, i. 33.

† Mallet du Pan, 'Mémoires et Correspondance,' i. 236.

‡ Massenbach, i. 236.

§ Chuquet, 'La Première Invasion Prussienne' (ch. iii.), gives an account of the whole subject.

'tradiction, the cleverest and the most deceitful man in Ger-
'many. His political principles are notorious. He detests the
'Court of Vienna.' * And yet the Duke consented to command an army which was as much an Austrian as a Prussian force, and with objects as much dictated by the policy of the Court of Vienna as by that of Berlin, and supported also by the Empress Catherine. The plot in the East was thickening, and the risk of sending the bulk of the Prussian army headlong into France grew more and more obvious every day when a Russian army was evidently about to enter Poland. The Duke could not fail to notice how anxiously the Russian emissaries at the royal headquarters were pressing for the advance upon Paris, and he knew the reason. † And yet he consented to lead the advance, and become responsible for it. The consequences to the history of Europe and to his own hitherto unquestioned reputation will be discussed in a subsequent article.

* Mirabeau, Correspondence, iii. 396.
† Massenbach, i. 96–7; ii. 16.

ART. VII.—1. *Habit and Instinct.* By C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.G.S. London: 1896.

2. *The Sagacity and Morality of Plants.* By J. E. TAYLOR, Ph.Doc., F.L.S., &c. London: 1891.

THE word 'instinct,' which forms part of the title of the book named at the head of this article, has been the subject of many a tough battle amongst naturalists, philosophers, and men of science before and since the days of Gilbert White, to say nothing of some famous makers of dictionaries; and, as the meaning of the word is more or less a key to the books with which we have to deal, it may be well to quote a few of the more striking definitions given to us by men best qualified to speak on the subject. Dictionaries shall come first.

'Instinct,' says Webster, is 'inward impulse; unconscious, involuntary, prompting to action; a disposition to any one mode of action, bodily or spiritually, without a distinct apprehension of the end or object which Nature has designed to be accomplished thereby;—specifically, the natural, unreasoning impulse which guides an animal to the performance of any action without thought of improvement in the method.'

This definition, though wordy, is certainly clear and comprehensive; while that from the pen of the great sage of Bolt Court—who had no great leaning towards the study of the book of Nature—is abrupt, and less accurate. 'Instinct,' he writes, is 'a desire or aversion acting in the mind without the intervention of reason or deliberation. The power of determining the will of brutes.' The learned Doctor, by denying, as he does elsewhere, the existence of 'innate dispositions' as rigorously as Locke did that of 'innate ideas,' so far seems to deny both to man and to other animals that which they certainly possess. Nor does he make the way clearer for us by the example which he quotes from the great master of words, Shakspeare himself: 'Thou knowest I am valiant as Hercules; but beware instinct; the lion will not touch the true prince; instinct is a great master.'* For, surely, this very feeling or disposition was a part and parcel of Falstaff's very nature—born in him, and with him—on which he acted, and which he obeys as 'a master.'†

* Henry IV.

† Even if exaggerated, or pretended, by Falstaff, yet clearly acknowledged as a strong motive power, as it was by Shakspeare himself.

One of the concisest definitions is that of Paley, who says instinct is 'a propensity prior to experience.' Another, not so curt, and far more complete, comes from the logical pen of Whately, an acute reasoner on all such topics as demand clear and exact definition of terms: 'Instinct is a blind 'tendency towards some mode of action independent of any 'consideration on the part of the agent of the end to which 'the action leads.' Much of the same character are the words of another equally acute thinker, who regards 'instinct' as 'a *natural* impulse—meaning by that term *innate*—to 'certain actions of animals which they perform without 'deliberation or having any end in view, or knowing why 'they so act.'

Thus, a calf will butt long before his horns are grown, or even appearing; a hen broods over eggs of another species, or over sham eggs, as long and patiently as over her own; a wasp, that does not feed on flesh herself, and knows not that a larva is to spring from the egg she has just laid in the sandy crevice of a wall, stores up worms and caterpillars for the food of a grub who eats nothing else, and so fixes them that they cannot possibly escape the devourer. Thus, also, the bee builds her cell only of one exact shape and size, the hexagon, which, as far as can be traced, she has, with rare exceptions, ever done since the days of the first garden in Eden. The water-spider, if but a day old, dives into water, an element of which she can know nothing by experience, and there at once weaves her fairy palace of silken thread. If now we turn to naturalists themselves, we have the well-weighed words of Gilbert White, who, after long and careful study of the subject, says of 'instinct':—

'That wonderful, limited faculty which at times raises the brute creation as it were above reason, and at others leaves them far below it; that secret influence by which each species is impelled to pursue at all times the same way or track without teaching or example; whereas reason, without teaching, would often vary, and do by many methods what instinct does by one. And this, though instinct, usually uniform and consistent, does (rarely) conform to circumstances, place, and special condition.'

In further illustration of which uniformity he cites three examples of the distinctly different ways in which three different wild creatures—the squirrel, the field-mouse, and the nut-hatch—deal with their favourite food, the hazel-nut. Each opens the nut in his own special way, and from this he never varies. The first, after rasping off the smaller end,

splits the shell into two with his long fore-teeth, as a man does with his knife. The second nibbles a tiny hole with his teeth as neatly as if drilled with a wimble, and yet so small an orifice that the wonder is how the kernel can ever be extracted through it. The last picks an irregular, ragged hole with his sharp bill, but having no paws to hold the nut firm while piercing it, he, like an adroit workman, fixes it in some cleft or crevice of a tree, or a post, as in a vice, and then, standing over it, perforates the stubborn shell.

Before coming to our author's own definition of instinct, we will quote a few more words from a writer whose wit and wisdom once often sparkled in the pages of this Review.* Speaking generally of the subject, he says:—

'All the wonderful instincts of animals seem to have been given them either for the combination or preservation of their species. Without these instincts they would long ago have been swept off the face of the earth. The bee that understands one particular kind of architecture so well, once out of his own special line of business, that of making honey, is as stupid as a pebble stone, and with all his talents only exists that we may eat his labours, while poets sing of them; or he constructs his boasted edifice for an egg of which he knows neither the meaning nor the object, to produce a grub of which he can form no possible conception; whereas man knows the beauty and use of every brick he lays, or tower that he builds. The bee now builds just as he built in the days of Homer; the bear is as ignorant of good manners as he was two thousand years, or ages, ago; the baboon still as unable to read and write as persons of honour and quality were in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but there is no progress among the three B's, whereas now among all classes of men those who can read and write are to be counted by millions.'

Professor Morgan's own definition of 'instinct' must speak for itself. He considers it more satisfactory, he says, to restrict the term 'instinctive' to those 'activities' which are in greater or less degree congenitally definite, and in this sense uses the words throughout his work, summing up his definition in a tabular form as follows:— †

'INHERITED.

Congenitally definite *activities*, under which those termed "instinctive" are comprised.	*Innate capacity* involving (*a*) a power of association, and (*b*) hereditary susceptibilities to pleasure and pain.

* Sydney Smith: 'Wit and Wisdom of Sydney Smith,' p. 260.
† Habit and Instinct, p. 27.

	Acquired.
(*a*) Confirmation or (*b*) modification of congenitally definite or instinctive activities so as to render them habitual by repetition. (*c*) Suppression of congenital activities.	Particular application of innate capacity: (*a*) occasional, and under special circumstances; (*b*) frequently repeated, with the consequent formation of acquired habits.'

That is to say:—

'Instincts are congenital, adaptive, and co-ordinated activities of relative complexity, and involving the behaviour of the organism as a whole; not characteristic of individuals as such, but similarly performed by all like members of the same group under circumstances either of frequent recurrence or vitally essential to the continuance of the race—broadly speaking, constant in character, subject to variation, often periodic in developement, and serial in character, to be distinguished from "habits" which spring from individual acquisition and the repetition of individual performance.'

Such are the author's own words (very slightly condensed) in defining the meaning of the two subjects of his work, which for the general reader's sake, as well as our own, one could wish less in number, simpler, and clearer. We notice this, because, in spite of the many admirable qualities which adorn Professor Morgan's book, the freshness, variety, and beauty of his illustrations, and the skill with which he has massed together an interesting and valuable storehouse of facts—when he comes to draw deductions, to demonstrate, and to argue, the style becomes wordy, ponderous, and at times obscure. As this is the only fault that we have to find with him, we gladly turn to the far pleasanter task of trying to show more exactly the objects he seems to have in view in the treatise before us; and if the audience which the argumentative portion of his work is likely to attract and convince be rather select than numerous, the wider circle whom he is sure to win by his pages of illustration will be charmed and instructed by the variety and abundance of new facts which their guide offers, and draw for themselves with ease the lesson they seem to teach.

The space at our disposal will not permit of more than a general survey of Mr. Morgan's 450 well-filled pages, to show by example the nature of its style and contents, and the conclusions aimed at by the author. The book is divided into fifteen chapters, the first five being devoted, after some preliminary definitions, &c., to admirable examples and studies of the habits and instincts of various young birds and mammals. From chapters v. to ix. the author

takes us to subjects of much higher and graver importance, such as 'The Relation of Consciousness to Instinctive 'Behaviour;' 'Intelligence,' and 'The Acquisition of 'Habits;' 'Imitation'—a chapter full of most brilliant and apt illustrations and shrewd reasoning; and 'The Emotions' in their relation to 'Instinct.' 'Nest-building, the Pairing 'Season, and Migration' occupy the next two sections—which every young naturalist will read with delight; while the remaining ninety pages are devoted to the consideration of 'Organic and Mental Evolution,' 'Acquired Habits in 'Animals'—again full of choice examples—and, lastly, the tougher problem of 'Heredity in Man.'

All these much-vexed and knotty problems are discussed, at times minutely, not without many divagations into kindred but side issues, and an abundance of technical phraseology which, however dear to scientists,* adds neither to the clearness nor cogency of their reasoning. One is apt to long for the lucid words of Huxley and Darwin, though, here, in vain. When, therefore, we come to Professor Morgan's final chapter, in which he enumerates twenty distinct and positive conclusions at which he has arrived, and which he seems to regard as proved, we must demur. They embrace a host of such intricate and moot points as, 'the instinctive activities characterised by relative definite-'ness of motor-co-ordination, and dependent on congenital 'structure in the lower brain,' &c. &c.

'This instinctive response,' he considers, 'is itself unconscious, but affords data to consciousness; data linked by association with those supplied by special senses. But, besides outgoing currents to motor organs, there are outgoing currents to the viscera, &c. From the organs thus "innervated"' (an uncomfortable word) 'proceed currents to the sensorium, affording the primary data of the states of consciousness termed emotions. These data are all of "afferent" (*sic*) origin, and whether sensory, motor, or visceral, may be either pleasant or painful, the power of associating them, and the susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, being alike innate. With the higher brain centres also is an innate control over the lower, exercised through augmentation or inhibition of their automatic action in the light of experience. Intelligence involves true selection; and the method of mental evolution, by the exercise of choice, must again be distinguished from the method of organic evolution by natural selection.'

* Equally dear it would seem to disciples of the latest, higher, school of criticism, one of whose pundits, Mr. H. James, thus sums up an estimate of the poet Browning: 'He was, indeed, a wonderful mixture of the universal and the alembicated.'—Essays, p. 239.

These are but a brief sample of an infinitely larger number of subtle speculations which Mr. Morgan's twenty conclusions embrace. Some are obvious. Many we are not prepared to accept, though the author regards them as proved. That they have been discussed—at times minutely, with greater or less success—skilfully illustrated, and ingeniously argued, may be freely admitted, but rarely, indeed, without being wrapped in a cloud of words; so that at the end of a paragraph the starting point would seem to be lost sight of, and the reader too often at a loss to know whither he is going.

To some few of the minor conclusions of Mr. Morgan, indeed, we should broadly demur; *e.g.* on the opening page to his definition of 'habit' as a more or less definite mode of procedure or behaviour which has been acquired by an individual, and become, so to speak, stereotyped through repetition. A habit, no doubt, may be fostered and strengthened by being often practised, but can scarcely be said to be formed by repeated action, any more than the gout can be said to be formed by repeated attacks of gout. The man who suffers from gout has inherited the seeds of that disease, or has planted them in himself by some specific course of action. In the same way, a tendency to any foolish or vicious habit, such as unmeaning laughter, or 'touching' certain spots or places or things, making wry faces, stammering, or even aptness to cunning, and equivocation, may be born in a man, or may afterwards arise from some chance cause of which the victim himself is at the time unconscious.

When a writer wanders into many words to show, say, the difference between a feeling, a disposition, an inclination—all being innate—and an instinct, it would seem to us much like the splitting of hairs, difficult, even if possible, and of no real value if accomplished. The reader who is fond of such pastime may easily gratify his taste in following Mr. Morgan through the various stages of his inquiry into habit and instinct. But he may also easily find far more and far better things in the delightful glimpses of the works and ways of young birds, and other animals, which the author again and again draws from his varied and ample stores of knowledge derived from personal observation. What, for example, can be fresher or more to the life than the following picture of young ducklings as exhibiting certain fundamentally instinctive activities?

'The ducklings thoroughly enjoyed a dip. Each morning at nine

o'clock a large black tray was placed in their pen, and on it a flat tin containing water. To this they all eagerly ran, drinking and washing in it. On the sixth morning the tray and the tin were given them without any water. They ran to it, scooped at the bottom, and made all the motions of the beak as if drinking. They squatted in it, dipping their heads and waggling their tails as usual. For some minutes they continued to wash in non-existent water, the coolness of the tin to their breasts perhaps giving them some satisfaction. Then I gave them water. The next day the experiment was repeated with the dry tin. Again they ran to it, shovelling along the bottom with their beaks, and squatting down in it. But they soon gave up the attempt to find satisfaction in a dry bath. On the third morning they simply waddled up to the dry tin, and sadly departed.'

From this he goes on to note the different behaviour of different birds when brought within reach of a bath—moorhen chicks, young jays, and even a magpie—each greeting it with peculiar ways and usages of his own, but all with great zest; the love of dusting or of bathing or splashing in water being inborn in almost all birds. But turn where we will through the whole gallery of pictures of bird life, the author's storehouse is full of variety and of freshness to the very last. He has not only observed every item of the picture with patient skill and care, but with the eye of a poet who loves his work. The result is charming, but immediately after the quiet enjoyment of such a pleasure the reader must digest with what comfort he can some such dainty morsels as the following conclusions as to whether the behaviour of certain 'partridges' is *instinctive* or *traditional*:—

'That which is congenitally definite as instinctive behaviour is essentially a motor response or train of motor responses, which often show very accurate and nicely adjusted congenital or hereditary co-ordinations, themselves evoked by stimuli, the general type of which is fairly definite, and may in some cases be in response to particular objects, of which latter possibility, or, indeed, of inherited ideas or knowledge, there is little satisfactory evidence—*i.e.* the facts can be equally well explained on the view that what is inherited is of the nature of an organic response. Association of ideas is strong, and is rapidly formed as the result of individual acquisition. Acquired definiteness built, on association, on the foundation of congenital responses, modified to meet new circumstances, may pass, through frequent repetition, into more or less stereotyped habits.' (P. 100.)

It is not easy to decide positively whether the behaviour of certain young birds at roosting time is distinctly 'traditional' or 'instinctive'—or, indeed, that there is any essential difference between the two terms—seeing that 'traditional' simply means 'handed on by example from

'parents to offspring,' that young partridges act as they do the moment they are hatched, that the prompting to this behaviour must be born in and with them, and must, therefore, be neither more nor less than an 'instinct'—*not* taught by the example of parents. It is of such apparent hair-splitting that we venture to complain—in which, however, Professor Morgan appears to delight. It is not to be wondered at if he now and then reminds one of an old and forgotten Eton squib of some fifty years ago under some such title as, 'Anecdotes of Animalcules, with Disquisitions 'as to Their Works and Ways, Usages, Customs, Manners 'and Modes, Behaviour, Feelings, Dispositions, Tendencies, 'Emotions, and Other Traits,' 'of which,' remarks a then young and ardent critic, 'it may be sufficient to say, '"Anecdotes brilliant, but in other respects no sufficient 'evidence to convict or clear the accused."' But, joking apart, we could wish that our present author had included in his survey the instinct of insects, which, in some respects, displays an amount of intelligence far more nearly approaching reason than can be found in any other section of the animal world but that of man himself. For example:—

'What bird or fish,' says Mr. Kirby,* 'catches its prey by means of nets as artfully woven and as admirably adapted to their purposes as any that fisher ever devised or fowler fabricated? Yet such nets, even under water, are constructed by spiders. What beast of prey thinks of digging a pitfall in the track of the animals which serve it for food, at the bottom of which it lies hidden, waiting until some hapless victim falls headlong down the sides of its cavern? This is done by the ant-lion.'

Or, again:—

'The working bees as a rule build their combs of one exact size and shape; yet suddenly one is found with cells of a different shape, placed in a different position, to meet some special juncture of circumstances, as when the workman builds some cells of a larger size, expressly for the reception of the eggs and future grubs of drones—eggs not laid by themselves, but still in the ovaries of the queen.'

If the reader feel inclined to doubt as to the amount of marked, instinctive intelligence displayed in the insect world, let him turn to any one chapter in Sir John Lubbock's 'Ants, Bees, and Wasps,' and he will be charmed not only with the clearness and simplicity of style in every page, but the infinite variety and freshness of the author's illustrations of life in that curious economy which he has studied so long,

* Kirby and Spence's 'Entomology,' pp. 538–9.

and with such unceasing watchfulness. A student who has had colonies of ants and bees in his own house, under constant supervision, for years together, and was on terms of friendship with a pet wasp for upwards of nine months, has a right to speak with authority (as he does), and tell wonderful things as to their private moods and ways, their power of discerning colour and fragrance, of communicating with each other, their skill, endurance, affection, and devotion to the common good of their race. Hence arises the critical question (which want of space forbids us to do more than touch) 'Whence does the insect derive its grain of clear, 'swift, intelligence?' A cat teaches her kittens all they need know to start in life—how to keep clean, to use their claws and teeth, to hunt, to climb, to steal unawares on their prey, &c. &c. Young birds learn from their parents to find food, to build, to talk, and to sing. But from the insect world all teaching by precept or example is absolutely excluded. No grub can, when fully grown, imitate parents he never knew; no butterfly or other winged insect have a recollection of existence separated from it by the death-like sleep of the chrysalis.

In conclusion, we would commend to Mr. Morgan's careful consideration the further broad, bold words of Kirby, a student of ripe and rare experience, in summing up one section of his inquiry:—

'Without pretending to give an exact and logical definition of instinct, which, while we are ignorant of the essence of reason, is impossible, we may call the instincts of animals those faculties implanted in them by the Creator, by which, independent of instruction, observation, or experience, and without a knowledge of the end in view, they are all alike impelled to the performance of certain actions tending to their own well-being and the preservation of the species.'

With his varied and abundant store of facts, his power of description, and his ready command of simple words (when he chooses to employ them), by simply taking the above broad definition as a basis, and proving by illustration and example where it is true and where in need of correction, he may yet give us a handbook of the whole scheme at once worthy of his own reputation and certain to win a far wider circle of readers than he has as yet reached.

In this age of ever-widening light, keen inquiry, and fierce controversy, the larger the circle to whom the disputants appeal the better for their cause and the better for all concerned. In no case can the truth suffer. Of course, if the discussion is to be strictly 'esoteric,' for the inner

circle of the elect only—that is one thing. But if it is to be for the benefit of the world at large, we would humbly suggest that it should be carried on, as far as may be, in the ordinary language of mankind. There is no charm, there can be no special power, in a flood of darkened words. No inquirer of ordinary intelligence can fail to understand the reasoning of Lucretius, of Aristotle, Bacon, or Newton. By all means let the 'sceptic,' in the true sense of the word, make his inquiry as wide, as deep, and as minute as his utmost ability enables him to do. Let him sift and search, examine and weigh, every grain of fact and every particle of evidence to his heart's content; but let the whole process, and, above all, the result, be *coram populo*. This may be no easy task, but of its value, if impartially conducted, there can be no possible doubt. It may be, indeed, as a true sceptic tells us, that

> 'Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day, and cease to be.'

But they may well suffice to teach one lesson, at least, of content that our present range of vision, if limited, is so far to be relied on; that our horizon ever widens in proportion to our own singleness of heart and endeavour, and will still widen as the age advances towards fuller day and becomes more and more conscious of its own power. There may still be much, as wise men so often remind us, that is unknowable at present, but it is no less true that 'men may rise on 'stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things.' The more the love and the practice of true science prevail the deeper will be our conviction of the reality of the poet's vision of the future:—

> 'And one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves.'

We come now to a far simpler and plainer task, of dealing with what Dr. Taylor calls 'A Sketch of the Life and 'Conduct of the Vegetable Kingdom.' Had he been content with those words as the title of his book we should have had far less fault to find with him. But when he makes them merely subsidiary to the chief heading, 'The 'Sagacity and Morality of Plants,' we join issue with him at once. 'Sagacity' implies power of acute thought and perception, and to no one existing plant can be granted the power of thinking or perceiving, even to the smallest degree. As to 'morality,' in any true sense of the word, the case is more hopeless still, for the one obvious reason that to

practise morality the agent must possess the power of discerning between right and wrong, which to a thing incapable of thought or perception is of course a sheer impossibility. We might as well talk of the morality of a door for turning on its hinges at the instance of a puff of wind. In the well-known story of a certain terrier who, having stolen a piece of meat from the kitchen table, crept quietly into the parlour and laid it humbly at his master's feet, the narrator of the tale cited it as an instance of moral conduct on the dog's part. 'No,' replied his friend who heard it; 'no; if your excellent Ponto really possessed any 'sense of moral feeling, he would never have stolen the 'meat at all.' This may seem a severe judgement on supposed canine morality, but as such an act, springing from what motive it may, is some millions of miles beyond the utmost possible performance of any plant that ever grew out of the earth, the author's title-page must be ruled entirely out of court.

He himself, indeed, seems to anticipate this objection—though not as fatal—in the first line of his introduction, where he says, 'I shall be met at the outset with the remark that 'the term morality can only be rightly applied to conscious 'agents, among which plants cannot be classed.' Met he certainly will be; nor does he at all dispose of the objection by quoting Wordsworth's well-known words :—

> 'It is my faith that every flower that blows
> Enjoys the air it breathes.'

It may be freely granted that every flower may be open in some degree to a new sensation in merely breathing fresh air; for Darwin, in speaking of the sensitiveness of the root-tips of plants, admits that

> 'The tip of the radicle thus endowed, and having the power of directing the movements of the adjoining parts, acts *like* the brain of one of the lower animals, the brain being seated within the anterior end of the body, receiving impressions from the sense-organs, and directing the several movements.'

But this is a very different thing and quite remote from every question of 'sagacity or morality,' which, as we have already shown, can be possessed only by such creatures as are fully endowed with a conscious power of thought and perception, to say nothing of the difference between right and wrong.

If Dr. Taylor had chosen for his title some such words as 'Traces of Certain Blind Instincts in the Vegetable

Kingdom,' we should have had no fault to find with him, but have gladly at once turned, as we now do, to his pleasant and ingenious researches into life and conduct in the world of plants. His primary chapter is devoted to a brief and clear exposition of plant-life as a whole, tracing it step by step up from the tiny seed to the embryo plant, the formation of cells, leaves, buds, blossom, and fruit, the nature and use of sap, and the express work of the root, the various functions of stamens and pistils, and the cross-fertilisation of separate flowers. All these topics are handled with such delicate accuracy of touch, and illustrated so aptly with woodcuts, as to charm the reader even while travelling over well-known ground, as a single brief quotation may suffice to show:—

'The true flowering plants are *now*' (*i.e.* since the classification of Linnæus based on the number and position of pistils and stamens) 'arranged simply in two groups, some having beautifully coloured or sweetly scented flowers, as the rose, lily, sweet-pea; others having flowers not conspicuous either for colour or perfume, like those of the nettles and grasses, the two groups being relatively termed *Entomophilous* (ἔντομον, an insect) and *Anemophilous* (ἄνεμος, the wind), the one being fertilised by the visits of insects, the other by the wandering breeze. No more brilliant discovery in botany was ever made than that which furnished the key to unlock the secrets of this floral difference, based on the known fact that "crossing" is not only beneficial, but in most cases of vital necessity. There are only two agents capable of effecting such cross-fertilisation—the insects and the wind—the former visiting flowers, many indeed, such as bees, butterflies, and moths, getting their living in no other way. The bodies of insects are covered with fine hairs, and the pollen grains discharged on contact with the ripe stamens stick to them, and are thus carried from one flower to another. As many insects on the wing, especially bees, often prefer visiting the same kind of flowers (*e.g.* clover, heather, sainfoin, &c.), it is clear how the cross-fertilisation is effected.

To render the service of insects more effective the pollen grains are usually so roughened as to make their sticking all the surer; hence the utility of colour and perfume in attracting their winged visitors. Grasses, and such other flowers indeed as possess no such attractive petals, hence have to be fertilised by the wind, and every farmer knows the need of dry, breezy weather when 'the corn is on the 'bloom,' for then the pollen has a chance of being widely scattered; every acre of wheat, it is said, producing about fifty pounds weight of pollen. This abundance of pollen is, of course, a matter of importance, as in wet weather much of it is washed to the ground, and never reaches the pistils

at all, and if they remain unfertilised no seed-corn is produced.

We have quoted largely from this chapter as a part of what Dr. Taylor calls 'stating the case'—*i.e.* the claim he is trying to make out for the sagacity of plants. All he has to say in this section of his book, and the eight succeeding chapters, is well worth reading. He writes like a man who knows his subject, and loves it with enthusiasm; who has looked into the book of Nature with keen eyes. But here and there his enthusiasm is apt to lead him into words of exaggeration—when dealing with the ordinary works and ways of vegetable life—as when he talks of 'the cruelty 'and selfishness of the common ivy' in clinging to and half strangling the giant tree whose trunk it has utilised to lift itself above the ground; or of 'robbery and murder' as crimes illustrated in sundry episodes of plant-life. And yet he may well defend himself against such a charge, as he seeks to do, by quoting the impassioned words of Charles Kingsley, who, in dealing with the same topic, says:—

'Throughout the great republic of the forest the motto of the majority is—as it always has been even with human beings—everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost!—selfish competition, overreaching tyranny, the temper which fawns and clings as long as it is down, and when it has risen kicks over the stool by which it has climbed; these, and other "works of the flesh," are the works of the average plant as far as it can practise them. Never do for yourself what you can get another to do for you, and you will soon develope into a true high-climber, selfish and insolent, choking and strangling all that comes in your way.'

Making allowance for this one exuberance of style and word, Dr. Taylor is a very pleasant guide through the almost countless phases of woodland life on which his facile pen loves to dilate, and which some admirable woodcuts serve to illustrate. Specially readable is he in his chapter on 'Woodcraft'—devoted to the description of the special devices adopted by the higher plants to grow, escape enemies, and propagate their kind; and in the final chapter on the strange class of plants, the Droseræ, or Sundews, and the Pitcher-plants, considered as cunningly devised machinery for the killing and devouring of insects. On these and a host of other kindred topics, he has much to say that is both new and interesting. This much praise is fairly his due, and will be freely accorded. But the reader who expects to find in the course of his journey any, even the least, clear evidence of sagacity or morality on the part of

plant or tree will expect in vain. Even in that one point of the fly-trap where the action of the plant might seem to be nearest the instinct of the insect himself, it may be urged that such plants often grow in places where their roots can obtain little if any of the special nitrogenous material which they need. Their habit of catching flies, and making a meal of them, is but a last, blind, mechanical resource of necessity, developed by sheer adversity. If any credit be so far due to them, by all means let them have it; but not a single grain nearer will it bring them to the title of being sagacious or moral. Of this, however, our readers must judge for themselves by Dr. Taylor's own words and our passing comment. Whatever their decision, to us there would seem to remain unchanged and well defined the three separate grades of instinct belonging severally to the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and to man himself. Between the first and second runs a distinct and undoubted line, not to be removed or crossed. Between the second and highest class, though neither so clear nor so marked, a line of separation, as between two distinct races, which no process of education can eliminate, and no developement can gradually remove. High above, and wholly different from, the sagacity of the elephant, the cunning cleverness of the monkey, and even above the swift and certain means which birds possess of communicating with each other by cries and notes of joy, alarm, and love, or the quick, trained intelligence of the dog, will still remain the imagination, the wit, the reason, the reflection, the memory, the judgement, and the consciousness of his possessions, which belong to man and to man alone. He can think, and know he is thinking; choose, and know that he is making a choice; resolve, and know what his resolution is. Above all, he possesses that immortal gift of speech, which distinguishes him from all other living creatures, in which they can never share, and of the beauty, comprehensiveness, and joy of which they can form not even the remotest conception.

Thus, the Sensitive Plant (*Mimosa*) shrinks away, closes its leaves, or droops, at the slightest, even friendliest, touch. The *Drosera*, or the marine *Anemone*, spreads forth its tentacles, and lures to slow death the winged fly or the passing small fish. The shepherd's dog, at a single word from his master, with swift intelligence rushes into the midst of a flock of sheep, separates the ewes from the lambs, or drives them all into the narrow fold. If by any chance death overtake that master, he has been known to show his

affection and his grief, by keeping watch on the grave, for days, without food or water.

Man has talents that have no sort of reference to his mere existence here, and without which his species might remain upon earth in the same safety as if they had them not. The bee works at that particular angle which saves most time and labour, and the boasted edifice he builds is only for his egg; but Somerset House, and Blenheim, and the Louvre have nothing to do with breeding. Epic poems and Apollo Belvideres have nothing to do with living and eating. There is no other animal but man to whom mind appears to be given for any other purpose than the preservation of his body.*

Sydney Smith, &c. p. 261.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Protected Princes of India.* By WILLIAM LEE WARNER. London: 1894.

2. *Our Indian Protectorate.* By CHARLES L. TUPPER. London: 1893.

3. *The Indian Village Community.* By B. H. BADEN POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. London: 1896.

REGARDING the present condition and the future prospects of the native States of India opinions differ. There are the hopeful views of such distinguished servants of Government as Mr. Tupper and Mr. Lee Warner, of whom the latter may be considered an authority since he has, during the course of a successful career, been British Resident at Kolhapur and Mysore, and is now Secretary to the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. We have, next, the opinion of a most independent critic in Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, who is sometimes less cheerful than the authors just named.

'For a considerable time after the Mutiny,' he writes, 'we became more cautious and conciliatory in administrative and legislative matters, more intent on doing what would keep the chiefs and rulers satisfied, the masses contented, and the country quiet, than on carrying out our own ideas. Gradually this wholesome caution is being disregarded. The Government has become more and more centralised, and the departmental spirit very strong.'*

Then, if these words of warning are not needed, the opinion of still another critic, the non-vocal but, possibly, discontented chief, must be erroneous. It is Mr. Tupper who quotes the words of a somewhat fictitious Cis-Satlej potentate: 'The grip of Ranjit Sing on the Raja was that 'of cholera; the hand of the British Government lies on 'him like a consumption.'

Among such divergent views we seek to obtain data which may enable us to determine whether the States are and should be developing into separate entities, capable of adding to the resources of the Empire by assisting it from without, or whether they are, for good or for bad, being absorbed into the Imperial system, so as to be indistinguishable from the India called British.

'There are,' Mr. Lee Warner informs us, 'six hundred and eighty-eight sovereignties in India, and the British Government employs

* 'Forty-one Years in India,' by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. London: 1896.

every device, compatible with the interests of the Empire and the peoples, to keep them in a flourishing condition.

'Its duty,' we are told, 'is not only to protect, but to give strength and vitality to the native sovereignties, allowing them full scope to develope their own systems of administration.' (Lee Warner, p. 206.)

'Care (indeed) must be taken that a policy of benevolent coercion does not prove more dangerous to the integrity of the Indian sovereignties than was the policy of escheat or annexation.' (Lee Warner, p. 303.)

It comes upon us as a surprise that there should be 688 sovereignties in India; we doubt if as many can be found in all the rest of the civilised world. Be that as it may, this at least is certain. The sovereigns who, within the century, have passed out of existence were out of all comparison greater than those who remain. The Emperor of Delhi has gone, and with him his lieutenants, the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Viceroy of Bengal, the Nawab Vazir his Majesty the King of Oudh. The Tiger of Mysore and the Lion Ruler of the Panjab have alike departed. The titular head of the Maratha Confederacy, the Raja of Satara, its sometime virtual leader, the Peshwa of Poona, and the foremost of his captains, the Bhonsle of Nagpur, are no more. The last ruler of the House of Alompra is a pensioner and an exile. The present Sindhia, lord of some scattered districts, is not the master of Hindostan, whose battalions, disciplined by De Bogne, met Wellesley and Lake in the field; the present Holkar is not the leader of vast bodies of irregular cavalry. A mild and educated Hindu replaces Tippu Saltan in a fraction of the former kingdom of Mysore. Kashmir, a fragment, a late acquisition of the Khalsa, has been tossed over to the Raja of Jammu. The Talpur chief of Khairpur represents the Emirs of Sind.

It is true, however, that the 688 sovereignties, even after excluding the two really *independent* States of Nipaul and Bhotan, as well as a number of others situated in the extreme east and west of the Empire, cover more than a third of the map of India, 595,167 square miles, 'an area 'equal to that of the Triple Alliance with Belgium and 'Servia thrown in,' and that their inhabitants number over sixty millions, 'equalling the population of the United 'States.'* Still, as they are very unequally divided, the number of States which are at all considerable is not really

* Census of India, 1891. General Report by J. A. Baines, Esq., F.S.S., of the Indian Civil Service. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1893.

large, though on one occasion Mr. Lee Warner writes of 261 'more important' sovereignties,* without, however, specifying the measure of their greater importance. If, as is the case, the nine States of Hyderabad, 'which is as large 'as Great Britain,' Mysore, 'which is a little smaller, but 'more populous, than Portugal,' Gwalior, Kashmir, Baroda, Travancore, Jaipur, Marwar, and Oodeypur, occupy more than half the area of all the States, comprise 328 out of their 568 towns, and include far more than half their total population, it is evident that the importance of the remaining 679 sovereignties is relatively small. To the nine mentioned add thirteen more States, such as Indore, Rewa, Kolhapur, Patiala, Bhopal, and we find that forty-six millions are accounted for. Of the remaining 666 States there are not fifty which have a population exceeding 100,000 inhabitants. The problem, therefore, Government has before it is how to nurse a few considerable States and a large number of unimportant ones; but the object Mr. Lee Warner had in view, and in a minor degree Mr. Tupper, was to expound the policy of Government with regard to all the States indiscriminately—a very different matter. We object to the absence of differentiation, because the tendency is to place the important States on a level with the smaller ones, rather than to give the latter a position as good as that to which the former are entitled. Besides, should the political status of, say, 600 out of the 688 States be altered to-morrow, it would be a matter of no great importance, so trifling, as we shall see, is the individuality now left them.

There is a consideration which helps to explain the survival of the States. It is one noted not by the hot politician, but by the cold statistician. Mr. Baines, the compiler of the census of 1891, has discovered the mean density of population to the square mile to be 230 in British India and 111 only in the native States; and is of opinion that the comparative paucity of population in 'foreign' India is chiefly due to the fact that the States occupy those tracts of the Empire which are the least generous to man. They are tracts where, too often, the real sovereign is the ice of the mountain slope, or the salt and the sand of the desert, or the fever of the forest, or the thirst of a niggardly rainfall.

Thus, regarding the 23 States near or in the Himalayan range, Mr. Baines writes:

* Lee Warner, p. 249.

'Most of them are comparatively insignificant, and though in the aggregate of considerable area, contain but a small population. Two run up the central mass of the mountains, and much of their territory is little more than rock and snow.' (Census, p. 32.)

Thence he passes to the deserts. More than half Rajputana, which itself occupies from a fifth to a quarter of the total area of 'foreign' India, is made up of the three States of Marwar, Bikaner, and Jesalmer, which, since they enjoy only from thirteen to seven inches of rain, can support but a very scanty population. Bahavalpur, their vast neighbour, is in the desert country of the Indus, and is consequently but sparsely inhabited, as is for the same reason Khairpur in Sind. Mr. Baines turns from the deserts to the hills at the eastern end of what he calls 'the central belt of India:'

'It contains dynasties of ancient lineage strong in their mountain fastnesses. The tract is split up into many petty chieftainships, as might be expected from the broken and difficult nature of the country. It offers no attraction to the civilised denizens of the plain.'

Of the Central Province and Bengal States he writes:

'They have been guaranteed, for the most part, to the descendants of some of the chief *forest tribes*, displaced from the plains by various waves of more civilised immigrants. The Central Province States are little more than private estates (!) to which has been given the status of political units within comparatively recent times. The largest, Bastar, consists chiefly of hill and forest, with so widespread a reputation for fever and bad water that it has been left to the *dark tribes*, to whom such tracts are congenial. . . . The circumstances of the Orissa States, of which there are seventeen (in Bengal), are about the same. The Chutia Nagpur States, which spread to their north-westwards, are still more thinly peopled. All of these are more or less within the dominion of the *dark tribes*.* The same may be said of the small State of Hill Tippara, between Bengal and Burmah. If anything it is worse. There is little in the shape of a permanent village in the State, the only place of this character being the residence of the chief.' †

But let us follow the compiler of the Census to the Bombay Presidency, in which Mr. Lee Warner places no less than 361 out of his 688 sovereignties. It is our impression that not a dozen of them are of an appreciable size. Here is what Mr. Baines writes:

* Census, p. 31.

† The forest tribes, the dark tribes, however ethnologically interesting, rank very low in the scale of humanity; men who are not even hewers of wood and drawers of water, because they live, masterless, in tracts where there is a superabundance of these products in the wrong places. Mr. Baden Powell has much that is favourable and instructive to say of them.

'Many of the States are too small to require individual recognition in the Census returns. . . . Their lowest density of population is in the forest States, where the Satpura (range) and the (Western) Ghats (hills) subside in the plain. Further north, in Gajarat, there are wide expanses of light sandy soil, as in Cutch and Palanpur, and hilly country, as along the banks of the Mahi and Rewa rivers.'

Of these 361 Bombay sovereignties, Kathiawar, a peninsula crossed and recrossed by hills, contains no less than 188 separate units, and Mr. Lee Warner informs us that if the British Government had not interfered to save these sovereignties from being split up into petty private estates, there might by this time have been 400 of them. The Census report disposes of Kathiawar summarily: 'Under 'the general title of Kathiawar are included many small 'States and four'—Mr. Baines says only four—'of consider- 'able size—Junagadh, Nawanagar, Bhaunagar, and Dran- 'gadhra.'*

The truth is that Hindu Rajas, Kshatriyas, Rajputs, quasi-Rajputs, false Rajputs, pre-Aryan chiefs, call them what you please, were driven by successive waves of Mussalman conquest into the poorer tracts, into the mountains, into the hills, into the deserts, to the very shore of the sea. There, after pushing the aborigines into still obscurer corners, they made good their last desperate stand, many a Duchy of Cornwall, many a gallant little Wales. To-day, at any rate numerically, they figure largely among the 688 sovereignties of India, and long may these poor wayfarers over history's changeful path sing among the thieves.†

Contrast with these poor bits of India the British Panjab, the plains watered by the Jamna and the Ganges, the east coast of Southern India which makes up the Madras Presidency, and we can understand why, while the mean density in British India is 230 to the square mile, that average is exceeded only in the large States of Travancore, Baroda, and Patiala, in the two Madras States of Cochin and Padukotta, in nine other unimportant instances, and in some petty States in Eastern Panjab. The 'foreign' third part of India contains less than one-fourth of India's population, so inferior in present well-being and in future possibilities to the British three-fourths that the difference between them exceeds all contrasts between areas and numbers. Of the

* Census, p. 18.

† Regarding the great successive armed invasions of India and the consequent formation or displacement of States, Mr. Baden Powell gives an impressive account.

twenty-eight towns in India which have a population exceeding 100,000 five only are in the States, and the two largest of them comprise purely British cantonments.

It is because the sovereignties of the mountains, the deserts, the hills, the sea-shore, if rugged, were the ones spared by the British, as by previous conquerors, that the States are, for the most part, not only poor but widely scattered, except in the case of one broad tract of desert soil where the Rajputs congregate. From the Shan States in the far north-east to Kashmir in the far north-west, along the Himalayan range, we find the long line of States on the fringe of the Empire. Again, from Afghanistan in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, among the hills which separate Persia from Sind and the Indus, we find the same long line. All the mouths of the great rivers which flow into the Indian Ocean—the Indus, the Tapti, and the Narbada—are British, but the States hug the coast elsewhere, or the hilly country which approaches it: Cutch, with its salt marshes, the hilly peninsula of Kathiawar, Cambay, portions of Gujarat, and, further south, the line of Western Ghats, till at the very extremity of the continent we come to Cochin and Travancore. Finally, there are the States which occupy in one long straggling line what Mr. Baines calls the central belt of India, from Orissa near the Bay of Bengal to where in the west the poor lands merge into the deserts of Rajputana.

This geographical segregation of the States from each other and the connection of them severally with the British power have been fostered by powerful political devices, as we shall see later, and by material means. When the history of British India began, the country, unprovided with communications, was largely covered by jungle, the haunt of tigers and banditti, which had a tendency rapidly to encroach on the domain of civilised man, if the latter ceased to toil or toiled mainly to take his neighbour's life or to defend his own.* State was isolated from State, town from town, and village from village, the smallest of which had its mud wall and tower of refuge. Brief raids, brief conquests, brief coalitions between chiefs were possible, but confederacy or permanency of policy for any end, except to levy a violent and spasmodic tax, tribute, or plunder, was almost impossible. The British began making roads the moment they had the leisure, but the special feature of Anglo-Indian history is that

* See Baden Powell, for instance, note 2, p. 50.

they had only been a few years at such work when they commenced constructing railways. Such segregation of communities in an old and crowded country, followed so instantaneously by a network of rapid and safe communications, is absolutely without a parallel in the history of the world. In the course of a very few years the road, the steamer, the railway, the electric wire and cable, together with the postal service and the newspaper, have brought the States into the closest proximity, not so much with each other as with the British Government and with Great Britain itself. For Government has not only, as we shall see, reserved to itself the complete jurisdiction over all railway and telegraph lines in the States, but has so managed that the broad gauge through lines, the Great Indian Peninsular with its extensions, the East Indian, and the North-Western, should pass almost continuously through British territory, except in the unavoidable cases of Hyderabad and Baroda, or where the line hurries across the States in the 'central belt.' They are the mighty links between the great towns and centres of government and commerce, the frame into which the narrow or metre gauge lines fit, and it is by lines of the latter kind that almost all the States are penetrated. Again, leaving out of count the Kathiawar lines, which tie little States together, it is seldom that many States are linked by any one line, except in the instances of the Rajputana extension of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India line and of the Rajputana Malwa line. Even here the great junction at Ajmere is in British territory, as indeed are almost all the important junctions in India, such as that of Jhansi, whereby Gwalior and Bhopal are isolated, and it is only by feeder lines even here that such States as Bikaner, Jodhpur, and Oodeypur are attached to the system. Through the agency, therefore, of steam and electricity a constant control over the mostly petty and still segregrated States has become an easier task for Government than could have been imagined forty years ago; and this, in a way, accounts for their survival. It has been well said that had the railway been invented sixty years earlier, it is probable that much more of foreign India would have continued to exist, and Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation not have been so determinedly carried out.

It is with hesitation that we pass from statistics, maps, and railways to the fantastic realm of history to find an explanation for the survival of these hundreds of States. Fantastic, indeed, is the only word that fairly describes

Mr. Lee Warner's notion of 'the policy so faithfully pursued 'throughout the nineteenth century of preserving the native 'States.'* It is true that it was in 1799 that Lord Wellesley finished what Lord Cornwallis had begun, when he took Seringapatam for the second time, and Tippu died under its walls. But he did not begin preserving native States immediately after, because of the advent of the new century. The next four years were years of wars and sieges and sequestrations, of the relegation to private life of some sovereigns, of stern treaties which imposed on others the maintenance of British troops. There followed a brief pause due to the prudence or frugality of the Court of Directors, and then the process recommenced. The sovereignties preserved throughout this century are as nothing compared with those destroyed. It was not through the preservation of States that three small grew into three large presidencies, and that British India now includes the Central Provinces, the North-West Provinces, the Panjab, Sind, Oudh, Assam, and Burmah. Nor was it to preserve them that bloody campaigns took place in Afghanistan and Nipaul. Our almost unconscious aim has been the foundation of a great and a beneficent empire at the cost of many sovereignties. Incidentally the creation or the preservation, under stringent conditions, of a few States, which for the most part sought our protection to escape the tyranny of their neighbours, became not only possible but easy, and, let it be said to the credit of the Government and the States, perhaps profitable to both parties, as our supremacy became more and more evident. It is true that during the last forty years there have been no annexations, but it is also true that during the same space of time fresh sovereignties have been brought under the suzerainty of the Empire, or have been extinguished, in Beluchistan, Waziristan, to the north-east of Afghanistan and in and round Burmah.

But let us now inquire how far the survival of the States is due to the moderation of conquerors after a series of struggles and victories. From first to last have three considerable States ever combined to delay the British conquest of India? If we count the Sikhs and the Sindis as single foes, no, not even in the case of the so-called Maratha Confederacy. As for the existing hundreds of rulers, how many of them, besides, say, Sindhia, Holkar, Bhartpur, now shadows of their former selves—how many have, singly or otherwise,

* Lee Warner, p. 180.

put the British power to any serious trouble? It would be hard to give a single name, though now and again one has been foolish or restive. How many have never raised a hand against us, but have been consistently loyal and obedient? Almost all. This we believe to be one explanation, as pleasant as it is true, of the survival of the States and of our moderation.

If we have, from the outset, insisted upon isolating ruler from ruler, our main motive has been to prevent their injuring each other, not ourselves. Between them stable alliances have never been possible. They differ too widely by race, by origin, by religion, by length of tenure, by habits, by physical and moral characteristics, and have, when close ties might otherwise have been formed, suffered too much from the jealousies and rivalries which have set house against house and many a house against itself. Aborigines some of them are, prehistoric Hindus others, of whom a number were under Brahmin influence while the rest were not, Rajputs of mythological ancestry, Marathas of recent political growth, as rulers of States the still more modern Jats, their half-cousins the Sikhs. Then, among the Mussalmans, some were Sunnis and some Shias; some had entered India centuries before our advent, some were almost strangers in the land, Arabs, Persians, Afghans, or Turks. There is, therefore, this reason too for the survival of the mostly petty and segregated States, that between them there was no combination possible, while each has found its interest in obtaining the austere friendship of the British Government.

All this is very reassuring for the internal quiet of the Empire. The fact, however, remains that there are 688 sovereignties of sorts in India, covering a vast area, and containing many millions of inhabitants, so that there may still seem to be room for anxiety. Fortunately, when we come to look into it a little narrowly, we find that the term 'sovereignty' is employed in an academic sense by Mr. Lee Warner and Mr. Tupper, who do so under the very high authority of Sir Henry Maine. This eminent jurist has laid down that a sovereignty is made up of a number of attributes, some of which may be withdrawn with impunity to the correctness of the term. The idea, however, is of much older date than Sir H. Maine, and has been most vigorously carried into effect. James Mill, in Book vi. chapter x. of his 'History of India,' describes how in 1801 the Nawab of Arcot was deprived of 'all the powers of government

'(which), were delivered over in perpetuity to the English, 'and totally and for ever renounced by the Nabob,' who became a pensioner. But at the same time Government and he signed a treaty: 'The Nabob Azeem ud Dowlah 'Behader is hereby formally established in the state and 'rank, with the dignities dependent thereon, of his an-'cestors, heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic; and the 'possession thereof is hereby guaranteed by the Honourable 'East India Company,' &c. It is, therefore, evident that the Nawab retained his sovereignty, though one attribute alone was left him—the right of being paid a pension out of the revenues of the country. It is not, of course, implied that the 688 rulers of India are pensioners; but if the sovereignty of some of them is very limited, the policy which brought this about is of old standing. Mr. Wilson, who criticises both Lord Wellesley's action and Mill's strictures thereon, explains that the Nawab was a dependent, and not an independent, prince in the language used by Lord Dalhousie, now surprisingly incomprehensible, so rapidly have matters changed. The term 'independent' as applied to any State is now deemed erroneous. Mr. Tupper calls the rulers 'feudatories;' Mr. Lee Warner, 'protected princes 'in subordinate alliance with Government;' to 'subordinate' Colonel Malleson prefers 'subsidiary,' and if the epithet is more emphatic it is preferable. Officially, perhaps, the States are 'allies under the suzerainty of her Majesty.'

No objection need be raised against these different terms if they convey correct impressions. Native States may be called sovereignties if it is understood that commands are issued by two authorities, the great British Government and the petty native ruler. In this paper a few of the principal limitations to the latter's powers are mentioned, and only then if they are of general application. But the authority of the lesser rulers—say of 600 out of the 688—is so exiguous, that it matters very little if what remains to them vanishes and they become landlords, often of much less importance than the big zamindars, or if they continue to be placed in a somewhat higher social grade. There are hundreds of sovereignties in which the ruler has not the authority to pass a capital sentence; there are very many in which he may only try criminal cases where the adequate punishment is imprisonment for a few weeks or months, or civil cases where the subject-matter is valued at a few pounds: 'the numerous class of States,' as Mr. Tupper puts it, 'in whose territories a great deal of the

criminal jurisdiction is exercised by officers of the British 'Government,' or, according to Mr. Lee Warner, the States 'in which the entire administration of justice, both civil and 'criminal, is conducted under arrangements made by the 'executive (*i.e.* British) Government.' This state of things Mr. Lee Warner explains by such terms as delegated authority, residuary authority, substituted jurisdiction, &c., and the expressions are good enough if the fact is grasped that *all* rulers have very limited powers, and a great many are supposed to rule over dominions which are, in point of fact, scarcely distinguishable from private estates. Nor is there any reason why native rulers should not be called allies, provided it is remembered that they are not free allies.

Two gentle protests, however, must be raised. One is against the idea that any alliance now rests on a treaty, simply because treaties were once made by one or other of the rulers, and by our Government, which justly boasts of its honesty. The Indian treaties are but milestones which mark the road along which the Empire has travelled. Mr. Lee Warner would have them 'read as a whole;' says that they are the acts of statesmen, which are in the nature of things temporary; declares that they must be studied in the light of subsequent comments passed on them by our Government, one of the contracting parties; allows, finally, as does Mr. Tupper, that usage rather than the treaties directs the course of relations between the suzerain Power and its subordinate allies. It would be, is our protest, extremely injurious to some of the States if the treaties were 'read as a whole,' and not singly, just as the lumping together of 688 sovereignties is to be deprecated. The tendency might be to treat them all alike, the highest, who are not very high after all, as the lowest; those tied by no specific engagement as those tied by the most stringent engagements. It is thus that Mr. Lee Warner, losing sight of the recent origin, under very peculiar circumstances, of Mysore, wishes to draw a general principle from the memorandum penned by Lord Ripon on the accession of the late Maharaja of that State. Again, when Mr. Lee Warner hints that Lord Canning's *adoption sanads** must be read by the

* Letters patent or written promises by Government to certain rulers that they should be allowed to adopt in case of failure of heirs. In Lord Dalhousie's time, as previously, certain States had escheated to Government, as the suzerain Power, owing to the non-existence of heirs.

light of that Viceroy's explanations to Government, regarding which the rulers knew nothing, and that the words explicitly used bear a particular meaning, he does not so much shake our confidence in Lord Canning as illustrate the quotation from Lord Roberts's recent work, given at the commencement of this paper.

The other protest is against any loose comparison of the relations which exist between our Government and the States with those that bind the members of such polities as the United States, the German Empire, or the Swiss Republic. The surrender by each of the federated units of certain powers is so accompanied by the great privilege of a voice in large matters of common interest that no analogy can be instituted. Every Canton in Switzerland, argues Mr. Lee Warner, is bound to send to battle every one of its males of a certain age, and the native States, in return for the protection they receive, are not called on to provide any troops. The argument should be pushed: the native States are not only not called on to provide troops, but are not allowed to have more than a small, limited number, which remain under surveillance. The Swiss Cantons are equal partners in their concern; our allies, the native States, are not in the position of partners—salaried clerks, at the best, with an interest in the house.

Let us gain a general idea, then, of the direct, acknowledged, universally applied limitations—first, to the external authority of the native ruler, which are absolute, and, next, to his internal authority, which are considerable.

Each and every native sovereignty, from the Nizam's downwards, is to this extent a limited one, that it has no existence outside of the four corners of its territory, save only and in so far as it has dealings with the supreme government. Should a doubt arise regarding the exact position of the frontiers themselves, should, for instance, a boundary river, shifting its channel, add a spadeful of earth to one of its banks and remove as much from the other, the correct delimitation becomes the business of Government. Fortunate is the ruler whose territory is compact, if only because he is the less frequently called upon to extradite foreign criminals or to seek, through Government, for the arrest of those among his own subjects who have skipped across the border. Not even an amicable arrangement can be arrived at by two chiefs on any question, however trifling or praiseworthy, without the previous knowledge and sanction of the suzerain Power. Or, again, the moment

a subject of a native ruler steps out of the dominion the latter has no authority over him, he is under the protection of the British Government, and, to almost all intents and purposes, becomes for the time a British subject. The ruler himself, if he leaves India, is not recognised as having an existence apart from the Empire. He may not receive a commercial agent at his court. He may not employ, without first getting leave to do so, the services of any European or American for any purpose whatsoever. It would be as well if he did not borrow from British subjects, whether European or native.

Since the chief may neither attack nor defend himself against any foreign, and, as we shall see, had better not deal with a domestic foe, it follows that he need not maintain any military establishment except for police purposes, so that the result of our policy has been practically to disarm him. Our early policy was either to impose on the prominent States the maintenance of what was called a subsidiary force, or occasionally to permit them to retain an auxiliary or contingent force. The former plan recommended itself, because thereby the ruler paid for British troops which were stationed in or near his territory to defend him—first, against foreign foes; secondly, against internal commotions; thirdly, against himself, if he were so weak or so mad as to break from his great ally. Of the surviving sovereignties there are eight, all but two of the first rank, on whom a subsidiary force was imposed: Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin in the south; Hyderabad in the Deccan; the three Maratha chiefs Sindhia, Holkar, and Gaekwar; and, finally, Cutch. But the other plan, the permission to certain States to assist Government by maintaining troops of their own, has ended in a fiasco in every instance but that of Hyderabad, where a respectable force under British supervision exists to this day. In all other cases such forces have been either suppressed, or converted into a British regular or irregular subsidiary force, or changed into police which is moved by British agency and paid for by the native ruler. Should it be asked if there exists a prince who may, without permission, enlarge his military establishment beyond the needs of a police for his own territory, the answer must certainly be that none such exists.

'There are several circumstances,' writes Mr. Lee Warner, 'which contribute to confer upon the British authority the right to settle the strength of the military establishment maintained by each one of the

protected provinces in the interior of the Empire.' (Lee Warner, p. 230.)
'The Imperial Government must fulfil its accepted responsibilities by intervening to arrest the progress of fortifications or by regulating the manufacture and traffic in arms and ammunition.' (Lee Warner, p. 233.)
'Only arms of a suitable kind (muskets for the most part), and in such quantities as, in the opinion of the British agent, are really needed (for police purposes), are supplied. If the quantities are not trifling a statement of them is required by the Government of India, which either supplies them from the public arsenals on payment, or expressly authorises their purchase in the market through the agency of the political officers.' (Lee Warner, p. 234.)

But the ruler has to observe certain duties with regard to British forces in his State. He has to grant rights of passage to troops and the occupation of forts, to keep up military roads and bridges, to assist in the matter of supplies and of the extradition of deserters; above all, so long as there is a British cantonment in his territories, he must surrender all rights of sovereignty over the area occupied by it, and sometimes over lands in its neighbourhood.

It is useless to pursue the subject any further. Immediately before our conquest the whole country was overrun by fighting men, and to that awful state of things there succeeded a dead calm, as soon as the Empire had spread over the land. Common soldiers and non-commissioned officers were enrolled by Government into the only valid army in India, but the command of it was reserved to British officers, all petty military forces belonging to the States being at the same time suffered to wither away. Agricultural and commercial instincts have, since then, been fostered; but the fighting qualities of most of the previously warlike peoples in the interior of the Empire, and of all who would naturally be leaders of men, have been repressed. After the unavoidable work of destruction must at some time or other come that of construction, and it would appear that we are slowly approaching the transition point. Some States have recently been invited to give a strictly limited assistance to the defence of the Empire, provided that they place their quota of disciplined troops under the guidance of a British military officer. The difficulty of the problem to be solved by Government and the chiefs is evident. On the one hand, we count the numbers of their soldiers, purchase for them their swords and muskets, and measure out their gunpowder; on the other, we permit of their co-operation in the defence of the Empire. The rulers, for their part, have to be at one and the same time very enthusiastic and very submissive. Granted that

the experiment is successful, another perhaps follows. The native States contain one-fourth of the population of India, a comparatively poor, backward and scattered fraction. Should they prove that, under advice, native leaders can lead native men, are we to grant our own more powerful and intelligent fellow-subjects the privilege of leading in battle? Other problems follow.

Let us now pass on to a consideration of the limitations to the native ruler's internal authority. It is generally understood that, though he may have no external existence, he is unfettered in the administration of his internal affairs. But any such notion must be entertained with a great deal of reserve. He is 'protected' not only against external but against internal foes. We may go further, and assert that very frequently other lesser rulers, once his tributaries, are protected against himself, and that, sometimes, individuals and classes of his own subjects receive what is termed the British guarantee that he will not oppress them. The chief's rule must, consequently, be such as to entitle him to protection, as it cannot be extended to the furtherance of abuse. 'Every chief,' writes Mr. Lee Warner, 'may claim the right of intervention, between himself and 'recalcitrant subjects provided that it is unconditionally 'accepted'*—that is, he must bind himself beforehand to accept whatever decision Government may arrive at. But Government is naturally most unwilling to interfere in this way, and, consequently, begins to inquire and advise long before matters come to a crisis. It follows that the knowledge that an appeal lies from the chief unto Cæsar is widespread among the former's subjects, and his prestige is thereby diminished. Malhar Rao Gaekwar was deposed, not because he was found guilty of conspiring to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, but because his rule was profoundly unsatisfactory. Other rulers have not been deposed, but have been deprived of their powers, temporarily or for life. Others have been warned to mend their ways, and such warnings become public property. It is not the case that only bad rulers suffer; all are affected, and the consequences are very far-reaching. No line of chiefs can continuously produce individuals able to grapple with the very difficult problems that have constantly to be resolved. Minorities occur, and, however well disposed the house may be, cases of mental incapacity or moral de-

* Lee Warner, p. 182.

fectiveness, whereupon the necessity of protection arises. 'Once a State always a State,' we are informed, is the benevolent policy of Government; there are to be no more escheats, no more annexations! Quite so; but, since the suzerain Power so greatly protects the ruler, it is all the more deeply pledged to safeguard what it conceives to be the welfare of his subjects. The further Government goes in the one direction, the further it must go in the other, and it goes very far. The more independent of all others the native ruler is in his external and internal relations, the more dependent he must unavoidably become on the supreme Power. The office is secure, the incumbent is constantly called upon to render an account of his deeds.

It is with this double process well in mind that we contemplate the extent of the protection personally enjoyed by the chief. It commences before he is seated on the cushion, and continues to the day when, if possible, his last wishes are executed for him. 'The succession of a chief,' writes Mr. Lee Warner, 'requires the recognition of the Queen's 'representatives. Hence it follows that the British Govern-'ment has the right to settle disputed successions—i.e. it 'must select a successor.'* The latter is frequently a minor, whereupon Government is his guardian, carefully educates him, and entrusts the administration of his State to safe people, some regent or council admonished to act in concert with the British agent. The opportunity is seized to bring the youth nearer to that high standard of Western civilisation to which it is hoped that all rulers will some day attain, and to reform, or at least to modernise, his State. Take an instance of the latter process: former Sindhias and Gaekwars used to hoard treasures, but, during the late minorities, large sums out of these were invested in British funds. Useful interest accrues therefrom, and the stake of the ruler in the stability of the Empire is, whether he likes it or not, proportionately increased. Such opportunities have up to recent times frequently presented themselves for reasons which need not here be given. Native rulers have not, as a rule, been long lived, and frequent recourse has had to be made to adoptions. Who of those present at the Great Delhi Darbar, when Lord Lytton, towards the close of 1876, proclaimed to the assembled chiefs of India that her Majesty had assumed the title of Empress of India, can fail to remember that in the

* Lee Warner, pp. 311–15.

centre of the semicircle round the Viceroy stood, as premier chief, the youthful Nizam, while on his right and on his left were two other lads, the Raja of Mysore and the Gaekwar of Baroda, all three his Excellency's wards? A little beyond them was Sindhia, who in his youth had seen the great Mutiny, and now his son has been educated in a way other, perhaps, than that which his father would have selected. The gentle and enlightened Raja of Mysore, too, has died since then, and his heir is the ward of the Government whose duty it has been to nurse this State through a remarkable recurrence of long minorities. As with the foremost houses, so it has been with others, as, for instance, Kolhapur. The childless Jam of Nawanagar, again, adopted a son, and the adoption was fully recognised by the Viceroy in January 1879. Later a son was born to him, and he was permitted to set aside his adoption of Ranjit Sing, much to the benefit of cricket in the Cambridge University, Sussex, and England. It is interesting to note hints in the newspapers that advances were once made to the famous batsman in the direction of a seat in the House of Commons, but we are not prepared to understand that a possible native ruler can also be a British subject in the full meaning of the word.

There is no phase of the 'protection' lavished on the native ruler more pleasant to contemplate than the wish of Government to push the education of young princes, singly, in small groups, or in such larger institutions as the Mayo College at Ajmir or the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. It is not possible that the consequences of the training they receive should be trifling or harmful; it is most probable that they are beneficial. Of course the difficulties once were and still are great. The education of the boy cannot be extended to the elders and ladies of the palace, to his servants, or even to all his playmates. Yet the mere placing of impressionable lads in daily proximity to such men as Colonel Loch, the late much-loved Mr. Chester Macnaghten, or his energetic successor, cannot, one would think, but bring about excellent results. A contrast could easily be drawn between the old-fashioned chief, surrounded by coarse and ignorant flatterers, immersed in childish pursuits, plunged, if the colours are to be lurid, in cruelty and debauchery, and the modern product, which is frequently very satisfactory. The industry of many of the present rulers is considerable; their amusements are innocuous and often praiseworthy. Some have become great travellers, and have been seen in all the big towns of Europe

and of the United States, as well as at the hill stations of India; some are patrons of the Turf, or, like the gallant Partab Sing mentioned by Lord Roberts, appear to advantage on the hunting or the polo field; some are royal authors; some have musical tastes; one has taken his degree in medicine; two have unfortunately married European wives. All live in finer palaces than they used to do, designed on European lines and filled with the European knick-knacks which have replaced the barbaric profusion of roughly-cut gems, chandeliers, mirrors, crystal globes, clocks and musical boxes, once the pride and the joy of the Raja's heart. Their servants are handsomely uniformed, their equipages are brilliant, their own dress is, save for the turban, an approximation to that of an English gentleman. One cannot refrain from imagining how well some of these princes, whose tastes and means have expanded, while their anxious responsibilities have diminished, would grace the court of a Grand Monarque, if such a personage could be procured.

It must be confessed, however, that all their tastes remove them a little from their countrymen, and that their expenditure is on foreign articles. The jewellers, the brocade workers, the poets, the musicians, the dancers, the brawny wrestlers, who once ministered to their luxury, have shrivelled up. Their very courts and capitals are changing, and while one cannot but view with sober satisfaction the model gaol, the college and girls' school, the hospital and dispensary, the museum and the public park, the scavenger and the policeman round the corner, one misses (it is folly, perhaps) the colour, the movement, the fun, the individuality of former days. Even the State sowar, the dirty little rider on his screaming tat, once ubiquitous, is shamefacedly ambling off to the dim country whither the chivalry of Rajputana and the hordes of Marathas and Pindharis have gone before; and there is a picture the less in a land which easily becomes monotonous. What if his turban was ragged —had it not once been surprisingly yellow, and was it not still majestically cocked? Did he not wag his spear most effectively? What if he rode on a parti-coloured pillow and not on pigskin—had not his seat the ease and grace begotten of old ancestral habit and of no stiff drillmaster? Even if his horse was but a spavined crock, were not the tail and hocks dyed of a pink that was inimitable?

Scarcely less pleasing than the care given to the education of the youthful ruler is the bestowal of rewards on

those who have earned them. The most prized is the rare instance in which the salute of guns is raised by two; but to the chiefs are also granted the G.C.S.I. or K.C.S.I. or C.S.I., or again the G.C.I.E. or K.C.I.E. or C.I.E., and, rarely, the honorary rank of general, colonel, or major. It should be added that the Empress of India is the sole fountain of honour, and that no ruler may receive a title or decoration from any other sovereign without her permission.

It may not be out of place here to mention that it is almost imperative on prominent rulers to visit the Viceroy at least once during his term of office, that the latter, in his turn, should see as many of them as possible in their own territories, and that similar meetings take place between governors or lieutenant-governors and such chiefs as depend on them. The result is most beneficial in a country where the longing to see authority personified surpasses anything we in Europe can realise; and the high officers of the Queen to whom we refer generally personify authority in very adequate fashion. It is well, therefore, that their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the late lamented Duke of Clarence visited many of the chiefs. What, then, are we to say of the gracious reception accorded by the Empress of India to such of them as have travelled as far as England? The constant presence of native attendants, the self-imposed and arduous task of acquiring an Oriental language, are but public indications of the love and solicitude entertained by the Queen for her vast dependency. But the great anxiety displayed by the august Lady to recognise the customs of the chiefs, in such minute matters as the food they may eat, the closeness of her inquiries into their individual well-being, the benevolence of her bearing, are the less widely known means she employs to bind, as in countless other ways, the Empire together by the strong ties of reverence and affection for her own person.

We resume our consideration of the limitations to the chiefs' internal jurisdiction. Government has to be careful that the 'protection' given to the ruler does not injure Imperial interests. The railway is one Imperial interest.

'The native States,' Mr. Lee Warner writes, 'cede all jurisdiction over their railway lines to the British Government, short of sovereign powers. The reservation saves the railway lands ceded by them from annexation.' (Lee Warner, p. 344.) 'The sovereignty of the ruler of the country survives, although latent and suppressed for the time being.' (Lee Warner, p. 346.)

The reservation was not devised in the interests of the ruler, but to avoid the necessity of putting very cumbrous machinery to work when restoring to him land which had once been acquired out and out. So long as the railway is in work, the land it occupies is simply British territory; and the same may be said of all cantonments, many imperial roads and bridges, and some civil stations. What is the consequence? The imports into and the exports from the State, together with an appreciable amount of goods traffic inside the State, are mainly borne by rail, and, so long as they are being thus borne, the goods are treated as if they were the goods of British subjects. Its subjects, again, step on to British territory the moment they enter the railway station, of which the gate perhaps swings on to the High Street of the petty capital; and, as has been said, when on British territory they become for the time, to almost all intents and purposes, British subjects. * To continue:—

'The exclusive right of Government,' says Mr. Lee Warner, 'to maintain and manage all lines of telegraph or telephone which take public messages has been repeatedly affirmed.' (Lee Warner, p. 242.)

To the imperial direction of the railway and telegraph systems should be added, as a rule, that over postal communications, and the result is that the control of almost all the important circulation of private and official persons, of their goods and of their letters and messages, is absorbed by our Government, and is carried out by British subjects, the servants of our Government. The indirect consequences of the railway and telegraph are of an importance that cannot be exaggerated. They destroy the exclusiveness, the distinctiveness, the very identity of the petty State with the same certainty that they foster the cohesion of the Empire. There are not a few States which, thirty years ago, were seldom entered except by a limited number of traders belonging to a few well-known races or castes who, during their stay, were amenable to the whims and usages of the local sovereignty, States which are now thronged with merchants who are foreigners, and employés who are British subjects, over whom, therefore, the British Government 'exercises per-'sonal jurisdiction.' * It is only the curious few who can tell how great is the influence on native society of the station-master and the postmaster, who are necessarily British servants, of the vakil or barrister, the doctor and the schoolmaster, who, if they are not British subjects, at any rate

* Lee Warner, p. 326.

belong to the classes most impregnated with Western ideas. Add to these the modern merchant and banker or money-lender, who have taken the place of the great capitalists whose business it was, like the Omichunds and Jugget Seits of Lord Macaulay's essay, to supply the chief and his nobles with that extremely rare commodity in old native States, ready money. One and all of these new men are either British subjects, or connected with British houses whose affairs are transacted in the all-absorbing and once distant British centres of trade. The influence of the newspaper and the press on the public is comparatively a small matter, but, whatever its importance, it of course emanates from the large towns, and, as has been remarked, 23 out of 28 of these are in British India.

The merest hint may be added regarding an indirect but natural result of the railway and electric wire. In all relations between Government and the States there is now such centralisation as was impossible a few years ago. In every large State, in every group of smaller ones, Government places a political officer, as often as not a military man, to be its eye, its ear, and its mouthpiece, who may also act independently on occasions, though in consonance with some definite policy. This officer is now more frequently shifted than of old; he initiates less; he reports more; he has become a frequent channel of communication; the subjects with which he has to deal are of a far more complex character than they used to be; they are also very often pettier. The central bureau, to which innumerable and frequently trifling references are made, incurs the danger of tying them up in red tape, or, more probably, of treating all the 688 sovereignties alike according to some preconceived system, policy, or theory. The Imperial machinery, though it has to satisfy the multiplied needs of a new civilisation, exacts from the living organisms that they should sacrifice some originality or independence, in order that it itself may work uniformly and smoothly over the wide area now placed within its constant influence.

Space fails us to review the interests termed Imperial, a most elastic word, or it might be interesting to estimate the difficulties rulers have to overcome in assimilating their administration to that of Government when the latter finds occasion to alter its ordering of the salt monopoly, for instance, or of the opium monopoly, or of the liquor laws, or of the best means to meet a wide famine, or of any measure, large or small, such as the marriage laws of some

caste, or the riddance of locusts. To keep abreast of the great Power they have to perform acrobatic feats which leave them dazed, panting, and exhausted.

A great duty of rulers, the one next in importance to that of loyalty to Imperial interests, is that of promoting the welfare of their own subjects. Now, the British Government is unfeignedly anxious to secure the prosperity of its own subjects by devices which are largely Western, and it naturally desires that the efforts of the native rulers should tend in the direction it itself judges best. This reasonable wish is powerfully assisted by the public opinion of those comparatively rich and influential three-fourths of India's population which live in British India. These no longer look on any one chief, or on the chiefs taken as a whole, as rivals to the British power, or as dispensers of benefits which cannot be obtained in British India. The minority, too, the subjects of the native States, add to the difficulties of the rulers by welcoming all changes borrowed from the British Administration which bring new benefits, privileges, liberties, while they are unwilling to sacrifice in return old advantages, long since surrendered by British India. We go further: we assert that there has set in throughout the great Dependency a powerful tide of imitation of British forms, and, to a certain extent, of British thoughts, which easily sweeps away any futile attempt an isolated ruler may make at being conservative. The imitation to which we refer is not necessarily accompanied by love, gratitude, or a feeling of fellowship. It represents rather the punctilious learning by heart of a half-understood task imposed on a scholar by a severe, if kindly intentioned, master.

Mr. Lee Warner would, for some reasons, like to see 'a 'single judicial system' throughout India; still—

'It must not be forgotten that the introduction of Roman law into the protected States of the Republic was the precursor of annexation, and the Indian sovereigns value above all other rights their guarantees against the intrusion of the law of British India' (p. 5). 'Only in native States like Mysore, Baroda, and Kolhapur, which have long enjoyed administration by British officers during a minority and for other causes, do there exist any body of laws, and they are *simply taken from the British Code, mutatis mutandis.*'

He places 361 out of his 688 sovereignties in the Bombay Presidency, but every one of these has adopted the British code, except in some trifling particular. The great States of Hyderabad, Indore and Gwalior have adopted British laws to some extent. Even Rajputana, the conservative, is be-

ginning to imitate. Mr. Tupper instances as copyists some of the Panjab States, and all the Madras States. The end is neither doubtful nor distant. If Roman history is to be repeated—though there is not the least reason why it should—the States are as good as annexed, for where our laws are not being copied to-day they will be to-morrow.

Other instances of imitation may be given. The colleges in the States send their best pupils to the universities in British India, and are fed by the State Anglo-vernacular schools. It follows that the elementary schools, in their turn, submit to the curriculum and organisation which obtain in British India. Or, again, when any State creates, say, a medical or a public works department, the foremost employés must necessarily have received their training in British India, and very frequently they are led by an Englishman, or, at least, a British subject. Truly have the Western sciences swooped down upon India like so many full-grown eagles out of the blue—no fledgelings whose early rearing has been watched, as by us, from the first crack of the eggshell. It is not the little native States that will make a show of independence by ignoring their formidable existence.

It is not, however, solely to Western arts and sciences that the supremacy of Great Britain over India is due. It is the work of all the sons she has sent out to the East, each trained to know her aims, and the means by which they are to be attained, all penetrated by a common sentiment of patriotism. But in the little native States there is a want not only of modern skill, but also of cohesion. Theoretically, the native ruler is a 'protected' autocrat; practically, he is too often an almost isolated individual, between whom and his subjects the requisite links are missing. He has been raised above his surroundings to a height which he never attained in the old days, unless he was endowed with great personal gifts, as was the upstart Hyder Ali, or Madhava Rao Sindhia, the village beadle and slipper-carrier to the Peshwa, or each of the first three Peshwas, or the obscure Ranjit Sing. The modern ruler, however poorly endowed, stands apparently pre-eminent, for the simple reason that formerly he had many supports—the Arkhan-i-daulat, or pillars of the State, and now he has but one—the suzerain Power. Among the Rajputs the chief was one of a brotherhood, *primus inter pares*, but now the importance of the brotherhood is gone. Among the Mahrattas he belonged, sometimes to a respectable, sometimes to an obscure, family, but always to one whose prominence was

recent, and due to the personal qualities of some fortunate cavalry leader. Most of the Mussulman chiefs were nobles from the Court of the Emperor of Delhi, and till the decay of the Empire removable from office. One and all constantly required the assistance of their immediate subordinates, in the midst of quickly recurring successes or dangers. Nothing eventful can happen now, and the classes on whom the chief leant have consequently lost all consideration. He has to reckon with the supreme Government only, and can more easily satisfy it by imitating it than by sticking to old customs, even the wisest, which keep bumping up against the new style of rule at point after point. He has, therefore, had to seek the assistance of educated native gentlemen, whether they be his subjects or not. It is well if they are good English scholars, university graduates; it is quite imperative that they should be well acquainted with the aims, or, at any rate, the forms, of British administration, so that those are most prized who have served in some department of the British Government.

The first Sir Salar Jung, the Nizam's Minister, was a fine example of the old school of Ministers, a very rich and well-born noble, who served Hyderabad alone, as Sir Dinkar Rao served Gwalior. Their contemporary, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Raja (titular) and K.C.S.I., may be cited as a typical representative of the new school of servants. A Brahmin of Tanjore, ever a Brahmin of the Brahmins, he was so well educated by the missionaries that not only was he a sound mathematician and astronomer, but so perfect a master of the English tongue that few Englishmen could rival him in eloquence or precision of language. His knowledge of the Maratha tongue was inferior, and he was not acquainted with Gujarathi. He was Minister first to the Chief of Travancore, in the Madras Presidency, then to Holkar, the Chief of Indore, in Central India, and finally, during a six years' minority, to the Gackwar of Baroda, in Gujarat, of the Bombay Presidency, a true servant, not of one State, but of the Empire. He was a successful instance of a class of men who are creating what resembles an organised department, of which the aim is to modernise the native States, while it tends to dissolve their separateness and individuality with a power and certainty rivalled by the 'railway' alone. Ambitious men, feeling that the higher grades of the Civil Service in British India are not as accessible to them as they might wish, regard the States as a field for the educated native rather than as a sphere for the evolu-

tion of native sovereignty, unless, indeed, that evolution is to assume the aspect of constitutionalism. But by this, perhaps, is sometimes meant the limitation of the ruler's influence in favour of enlightened native gentlemen, the firstfruits of our rearing, free lances and pioneers, if such terms may be used without the least disparagement of their commanding merits. The Minister who now holds the post last filled by Sir T. Madhava Rao has long served the Madras Government, and has published a large official work in excellent English, while his predecessor had worked in the British political department and been Minister in two States, and his predecessor, again, had been in the Bombay revenue department. Mysore naturally draws its prominent officers from the Madras Presidency. At Indore, gentlemen from the Bombay Presidency, such as the Chief Justice, Mr. Dhurandar, LL.B., and Mr. Gupte, the Police Commissioner, are largely employed. At Bhaunagar, Mr. Guzdur is of the new school, as are many of his peers. The list is too long to go through. Nor is it merely the higher posts that are filled with men who know English and are acquainted with the principles of British administration. Far down the ranks there is a premium on these accomplishments, and it is noteworthy that, as in British India, the old custom of entertaining hereditary service is giving way to employment by contract, and to promotion by merit (so called), with all the apparatus of public service examinations.

The 688 so-called native sovereignties, in spite of their vast aggregate area and population, are neither a danger nor a menace to the Empire. On the contrary, they are friendly and too imitative. The great majority of them, the petty ones, cannot be said to have retained any appreciable individuality beyond what there is in British India, and even the more important ones, perhaps owing to excessive 'protection,' run the risk of losing it to a regrettable degree. This is a pity if the Empire is strengthened and not weakened by free growth in different directions, by diversity of views and interests, by conservatism as well as progress, by the links which natives possessing a large stake in the country form between us and the foreign masses we rule, by the existence of an influential class of men who are neither merchants nor clerks. It is not our object here to suggest remedies. Lord Roberts, in a passing word, deprecates too much eagerness in the carrying out of 'our own ideas,' deprecates centralisation and the departmental spirit, and his advice is very good,

ART. IX.—1. *Travels in West Africa.* By MARY H. KINGSLEY. London: 1897.

2. *An Introduction to the History of Religion.* By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M.A. London: 1896.

3. *Contributions to the Science of Mythology.* By the Right Hon. Professor MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London: 1897.

THE comparative study of Natural Religion, like other branches of empirical research, divides itself into two working departments. In one of them is the collector of materials, who roams far afield and scrambles about among wild folk to gather his specimens and take note of varieties; in the other is the philosophic savant who remains at home to receive what is brought him from different countries, to classify, collate, and form his scientific inductions. Sometimes the two branches are successfully combined in one person; though we usually find that the adventurous traveller, with an eye for primitive beliefs and customs, and the gift of interpreting them, is differently constituted from the home-keeping student of results. The former has the great advantage of knowing the environment, the true connexion of one species with another, their signification among the people on the spot; while the latter, who deals with them in a library or a museum, may have a wider range of survey and a better method of classification. On the other hand, as his aim is toward bringing a heap of material into symmetrical arrangement, he is often prone to overstrain his theories, to use the same weight and measure for all his facts, to lay stress on superficial resemblances, and in other respects to suffer the disadvantages which beset every judge, however able and learned, who is obliged to take evidence at second hand.

The writers of the books which we propose to review may be taken as fairly exemplifying these two classes. Miss Mary Kingsley has explored, with great enterprise and an admirable disdain of discomfort, some regions of the West African coast that have been hitherto little visited by competent observers. She has consorted with cannibals, visited their homes, travelled in the company of the fetish-worshipper and discoursed with him on sacred things; she has trusted herself alone with savage tribes, and has won their confidence. Of all these opportunities she has made excellent use. Mr. Jevons, again, has equipped himself for a

comprehensive investigation into the foundations of primitive beliefs by an attentive study of all recent writings upon this obscure and intricate question; he has a wide knowledge of the literature, ancient and modern, that has accumulated over it; and his design is to apply evolutionary principles (with certain important reservations) to the whole History of Religion. Professor Max Müller has long since attained a brilliant reputation and great popularity as the interpreter of Aryan mythology.

As the hearing of witnesses goes before the summing up of the judges, we may begin, logically, with Miss Kingsley's book. It must, however, be in the first place clearly understood that Miss Kingsley's travels were not undertaken exclusively in quest of the religious idea. She says, indeed, that her 'fixed desire was to study fetish,' but we learn that she went also for beetles and fishes; her general object appears to have been to see life in the deadly climate of the West African coast within the tropics, and to examine the social and administrative conditions under which it is endured by mankind in and about Lower Guinea. On the whole, although Miss Kingsley enjoyed the country and likes its people, these conditions seem to be unattractive. Very grisly anecdotes are told of the sudden and fatal illnesses, the rapid succession of official vacancies, the fevers, the putrescences, and the noxious animals. Scorpions, snakes, and crocodiles infest land and water; the insects are even more ferocious, proportionately to their size, than the wild beasts; and the men are no better than the animals. In regard to Sierra Leone its English Bishop has recently printed the painful admission that small social gatherings are almost unknown there through fear of poisoning, which is apparently a practice universally prevalent among all classes of the native population, and operates as a check upon the excessive ill usage of wives. Miss Kingsley's courage and scientific ardour have enabled her, in spite of all these risks and of serious hardships, to mix freely with the people, to wander in magnificent scenes of mountain and primeval forest, and to bring back stores of fresh information regarding the fishes, the folklore, and the fetish. We must reluctantly leave untouched the record of her personal adventures, although it abounds with shrewd remarks and amusing incidents. Her style is plain and unvarnished, though we may hazard the conjecture that during her sojourn in a region notoriously overcrowded by spirits, she may peradventure have become unconsciously possessed by

a jocose and humoristic fiend, whom in this Christian land she would do well to cast out.

The first thing, says Miss Kingsley, before starting to hunt the religious idea in West Africa, is to burn all one's notions about sun myths and the worship of elemental forces. She herself had set out in full confidence that Mr. Frazer's book, 'The Golden Bough,' provided the 'semi-universal key' to early customs and beliefs everywhere; and she soon discovered how very few it would unlock of the inner mental chambers in which the wild man's fancies are bred. 'The 'study of natural phenomena knocks the bottom out of 'any man's conceit, if it is done honestly and not by selecting 'only those facts which fit in with his preconceived or 'ingrafted notions'—true words that should be gravely pondered by all ingenious folklorists. And she rightly enjoins upon the student, as before all things necessary, a careful reading of Dr. E. B. Tylor's work, which really contains almost everything that can be soberly and safely written upon Primitive Culture. She observes that the Africans often have remarkable acuteness and a large share of common sense, that the form of their mind is quite different from the childish stage; nor are they flighty, mystical, or dreamers. The remark is important, because nothing is more common than a comparison of primitive mankind with civilised children, whereas the only common ground is unbounded credulity; for the experiences, which shape the imaginative faculty, are in the two cases altogether unlike, and the child mostly takes his fantastic impressions from the sayings and doings of his elders. The animistic tendency of civilised man to treat a ship or a steam engine as a living creature, whom it is possible to love or hate according to its behaviour, is much nearer the intellectual attitude of the savage to Nature at large.

Now the peculiarity of West Africa, as a field for the botanical study of beliefs, is that while almost every other part of the four continents has been more or less overlaid by some great conquering faith, in this region the indigenous superstitions grow as rank and free as the primeval forests. The proselytism of Islam or Christianity has only scattered among them a few ideas and doctrines that have been absorbed, with various distortions, into the mass of legends and practices. Probably the aboriginal African has for many generations been moving westward, under the pressure of stronger tribes, until he has been brought up against the coast-line of the impassable Atlantic, in a climate where the

struggle for existence is fierce and unceasing. Here if anywhere the life of man is, to borrow the words of Hobbes, 'poore, nasty, brutish, and short;' and as is their life so is their religion. The people who inhabit the inland country are for the most part cannibals, among whom to kill or be killed is as much their everyday lot as among the wild animals, and of whom some tribes have become degraded during many generations of retreat before stronger enemies. May we not expect, then, to find in this very low stratum of human society some of those primal forms which the evolutionist can treat as the simplest germs of higher religious conceptions, providing the materials for a connected demonstration of the growth and developement of Natural Religion?

One may regret, as Miss Kingsley's collection of facts and observations is so valuable, that she has not thought it worth while to arrange and group them in more consecutive order, instead of dropping them somewhat fortuitously over her five chapters on Fetish. But she has evidently no intention of propitiating the critical spirit embodied in indolent reviewers; and as an artist she may have desired us to realise the cloudy atmosphere that overhangs the whole region of African supernaturalism. It may, therefore, be useful to our readers if, in our attempt to summarise briefly the results of her inquiries, we begin by taking, in the first place, her information regarding the beings, divine or disembodied, whom the West African fears or adores, their origins, attributes, the tokens that denote their presence, the signs of their power. The second part of our summary would then deal with the rites and customs, the rules of procedure for doing business with divinity, and the phenomena of that universal delusion, which has infested all early communities like the Plague or the Black Death, witchcraft. We have to understand that in the primitive world there are two great societies, of gods and of men, with a strong family resemblance in the matters of tastes, feelings, diet, habits, and vicious propensities in particular; having also reciprocal needs and grievances, so that they are to a certain degree mutually dependent on each other's good offices. The divine community, being much the stronger and more aggressive, is able to levy oppressive tribute upon long-suffering mankind, and even to insist upon servile obedience. Nevertheless we find that in West Africa, as elsewhere, the two societies keep up constant communication; there is much emigration to and fro; the

human soul quits its earthly tenement with a distinct *animus revertendi*, the deities take bodily shape for a season; and it is plain that without continual intercourse and the interchange of dues and services neither of them could flourish satisfactorily. It is also clear that even to spiritual despotism there must always be a certain limit, a point at which long-suffering humanity begins to rebel, as when the gods do very little for worshippers and demand too much of them.

With these remarks we may take up Miss Kingsley's account of African demonology and witchcraft. In the first place, what sort of mind is it that transforms its impressions into fearful or grotesque shapes, and peoples the surrounding atmosphere with them?

'The mental condition of the lower forms of both races seems very near the other great border line that separates man from the anthropoid apes, and I believe that if we had the material, or rather if we could understand it, we should find little or no gap existing in mental evolution in this old undisturbed continent of Africa.'

It is among the negroes, therefore, that may be found 'the earliest forms both of religion and witchcraft'—witchcraft being definable as the power possessed by some malevolent mortal who has acquired control over spirits; whereas religion may be roughly described in this stage as a belief in their direct supernatural action. With regard, then, to the divinities, we are told that there is somewhere a god who originally created the world and all that it contains, but who, like the Indian Brahma, takes no interest in its management; he has laid out the universe and stocked it; he has done his work, and left the administration to others; he is evidently the Final Cause invented to explain phenomenal existence, as an architect is necessary to explain a house. The unfortunate consequence of his abdication is that the everyday affairs of mankind are consigned to the caprice of a disorderly crowd of spirits, very largely recruited by the incessant transmigration of souls, with diverse local origins and habitats, in the trees, the rocks, or the bodies of wild animals. There are also pure nature deities, household lares, and mere fetish, the animistic fancies suggested by queer uncanny things. Wandering demons, like Sasabonsum and his wife, and horrid apparitions which to see is to die, are also common; while dangerous places, such as rocks, whirlpools, and swamps, are haunted, as usual, by sprites invisible. The disembodied ghost roves unresting, a mournful and troublesome vagrant, until its

manes have been appeased by the proper rites, when it is relegated to the dim underground kingdom, which represents the crude indistinct notions formed by all early polytheists of some refuge, or prison house, or penal settlement for those who have finally vanished beyond the world of sense. This place 'has its pleasures and pains, not necessarily retributive 'or rewarding, but dim . . . a veritable shadow land where 'men have not the joys of life, but only their shadow;' and the native proverb, which says that one day on the upper earth is worth a year in the nether world, corroborates what we know from the Odyssey of the classic Hades, where Achilles says that he would rather be a ploughboy than reign over the innumerable dead. One finds traces of the universal tradition that in old times there was closer intercourse between gods and men, who went up and down by a ladder reaching from earth to sky, until it was thrown down from above because the earthborn tried to push their way into heaven.

All this is merely the simpler sort of paganism that has prevailed in all times and places wherever superstitions have been left to grow in their natural disorderly fashion, to vary according to the environment, and to reflect through the popular imagination the conditions of human existence. There is nothing new in these African beliefs and legends; they are chiefly valuable as cumulative proofs of the very narrow grooves to which the image-making mind of man seems to be confined, of the short range within which its inventive faculty appears to work, passing the ideas from hand to hand, adapting, enlarging, and refining a few original conceptions. The typical form survives all changes, as the steel axe of the modern carpenter has not varied far from the shape of the prehistoric stone hatchet; it is obviously moulded by sensations and experiences, by moods and manner, by changing circumstance and perceptions of utility. And the process of thought moves step by step.

'You soon become conscious of the careful way a negro follows his idea. Certain customs you can, by the exercise of great patience, trace back in a perfectly smooth line to their source in some natural phenomena, or to reasons of utility.'

The killing of wives at their husbands' funeral is a fair utilitarian example. The colourable object is that they may accompany him into his next existence; but a Calabar chief explained to Miss Kingsley that the custom was also

a salutary check upon husband poisoning; and one cannot doubt that he is right. The progress from the rough and ready expedients of early society, where the same individual turns his hand to all trades, up to the specialisation of handicrafts, may be traced in supernaturalism as in political economy. Miss Kingsley tells us that the African sprites are not easily classified by their functions, although they are all to some extent limited as to the nature of their power, and work only on certain lines, so that there is no one of them who can do all things. We have here the first stages of the gradual evolution of the professional or departmental divinity.

At the bottom of all this confused jumble of gods and goblins lies, so far as we can make out, the inveterate belief in the migratory soul, whom death renders homeless until it can find another abiding place by re-embodiment, which again is dependent upon the due performance of mortuary rites. This idea of the wandering soul is so universal, so obviously founded upon the instinctive human refusal or incapacity to accept death as the final extinguisher, that it may be taken as the ultimate ascertainable basis of religion in a state of nature. 'The really important part of every funeral is the 'burying of the spirit, which allows it to settle down in some 'fresh tenement.' Nevertheless, although the ghosts are all worshipped, although men and animals are offered to the souls of deceased persons, Miss Kingsley maintains, if we understand her rightly, that a clear line of demarcation exists between ghosts and gods; that the former never develope into the latter; and she warns us against confusing the offerings to the dead with sacrifices made for the propitiation of deities. At this point, therefore, she differs from the conclusions of Herbert Spencer and other authorities; nor is it easy to make out plainly from her book the grounds upon which she disentangles such a distinct and important dividing line out of the complicated medley of souls and demons, spirits and deities, with much the same habits, powers for mischief, and wonder-working characteristics, that are the objects of fear and adoration in West Africa. That famous men were constantly taking rank, after death, among the gods of classic Greece and Rome, is beyond dispute; that ancestral worship is often the first step to divine honours in polytheistic Asia, especially in China, cannot be gainsaid; the promotion of heroes, saints, and martyrs goes on continuously and manifestly. Yet we admit that what is true of ancient civilised religions, that have been to some

degree systematised, may be untrue of worships and incoherent superstitions of African tribes, who might easily make the distinctions in practice and belief, without noticing the close filiation which connects the two ideas. We notice, indeed, that in the West African Hades the souls of great men are privileged to prey upon the crowd of ignoble ghosts; yet they seem not to return to power in the upper air. And we may throw out, also, the conjecture that in remote and obscure West Africa men do not reach the necessary pitch of renown for mighty deeds or sanctity that qualifies them, in larger countries, for elevation after death to high place among recognised divinities.

Sacrifice and incantation are the well-known professional methods of dealing with spirits. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten, for the blood is the life offered up; and incantation may be by prayer or by mystic words and signs of the masonic order. The Taboo, or interdict laid upon certain things, is, Miss Kingsley thinks, a form of sacrifice, being a kind of religious abstinence imposed upon persons, and varying infinitely, as to the thing prohibited, with each person. Of this worldwide custom, upon the meaning of which learned folklorists have expended great ingenuity, we shall have occasion to make some observations presently. Meanwhile it is clear that the really dominant feature of West African superstitions, to which all others are secondary, and which permeates the whole religious atmosphere, is the belief in witchcraft. This is the terrible plague which is always at its worst in the lowest stages of human society, which disappears very slowly as the intellectual level rises, and which has never been entirely extirpated from the most civilised communities. Where witchcraft is uppermost the religion is most degraded; nor is it until religion gathers strength enough to draw apart, to give fierce battle to witchcraft, and to denounce it as a black disreputable art, that there is any hope of spiritual improvement. The following extract contains Miss Kingsley's definition of witchcraft:—

'They regard their god as the creator of man, plants, animals, and the earth, and they hold that having made them he takes no further interest in the affair. But not so the crowd of spirits with which the universe is peopled; they take only too much interest, and the Bantu wishes they would not, and is perpetually saying so in his prayers, a large percentage whereof amounts to "Go away; we don't want you;" "Come not into this house, this village, or its plantations." He knows from experience that the spirits pay little heed to these objurgations, and as they are a people that must be attended to,

he developes a cult whereby they may be managed, used, and understood. This cult is what we call witchcraft.'

In a later passage, however, we have 'the origin of man's 'religious belief' ascribed to motives and impressions that seem almost identical with those out of which witchcraft is said to have been developed. It is generally assumed, says Miss Kingsley, in the infancy of humanity, that death is always the consequence of the action of some malignant spirit, and that there is no accidental or natural death.

'A man having thus gained a belief that there are more than human actors in life's tragedy, the idea that disease is also a manifestation of some invisible being's wrath and power seems to me natural and easy; and he knows you can get another man for a consideration to kill or harm a third party, and so he thinks that for a consideration you can also get one of these superhuman beings which we call gods or devils, but which the African regards in another light, to do so.

'A certain set of men and women then specialise off to study how these spirits can be managed, and so arises a priesthood; and the priests, or medicine men, as they are called in their earliest forms, gradually, for their own ends, elaborate and wrap round their profession with ritual and mystery.'

While this view of religious origins does by no means cover the whole ground, there is, of course, much truth in it; but the point for observation is that from these extracts we should judge Miss Kingsley's conclusion to be that witchcraft and religious rites in West Africa are originally indistinguishable. If this is correct, there can be no doubt that such a confusion of two ideas, that in their later forms not only stand widely apart, but are always irreconcilably hostile, denotes the very lowest stage of aboriginal superstition wherever it prevails, for it has been held that, although the line between abject fetishism and witchcraft may be difficult to trace in the elementary stages, yet from the beginning a true distinction can invariably be recognised. According to this theory the witch is more nearly allied with rudimentary science than with priestcraft: for he relies not upon prayer, worship, or propitiation of divinities, but upon his own secret knowledge and experience of the effect producible by certain tricks and mysterious devices upon the unseen powers, over whom he has attained a sort of command. Instead of serving, like the priest, these powers, he is enabled by his art to make them serve him; and it is for this reason that his practices very soon become denounced and detested by the priesthood. To the priest belong

adoration and propitiatory sacrifice; if these things will not move the divine authorities there is nothing else to be done by the supplicant; but where the case can be diagnosed as witchcraft there is a human being within reach who can be cruelly punished; and the fact that he is treated as personally responsible shows that the occult faculty of mischief-making is actually detected in him. When a man sets up in sorcery he becomes the scapegoat for all the ills of mankind which kings and priests cannot cure, and every inexplicable wrong is laid to his account, so that his reputation for direct wonder-working becomes fatal to him. The priest, on the other hand, is merely the steward or minister of an irresponsible and unapproachable divinity. The first step necessary in West Africa for the profession of sorcery is to entertain a familiar spirit, which is done by cutting a rude wooden human figure, into which he is persuaded to locate himself, when his services become at the sorcerer's disposal. Here we have already the tendency to obtain command over supernatural forces, instead of obedience and prostration before them; and if the witch has hit upon any very rude observations of physical cause and effect, if he knows some quackery in medicine, is weatherwise, or is cunning in what has been called 'natural magic,' the familiar spirit will get all the credit of his ingenuity. In the departments of love and death he has an immense practice; while all the intelligent folk know, as Miss Kingsley remarks, that 'there is a lot of 'poisoning' in the business, as is shown by the wide diffusion among her African acquaintance of the treatment of persons bewitched by a strong emetic. But in witch ordeals your only real chance of escape is by bribing the presiding expert.

Miss Kingsley has much to say of the secret societies, which operate in the dark, like the Spanish Inquisition, for the discovery and punishment of social and religious backsliding, and which also cover a great deal of sheer wickedness in the way of murder and cannibalism. Of course there is initiation, followed by hideous rites and the marking down for assassination of some victim, who may be a rich relative or some other obnoxious person whom it is convenient to put away under the pretext of an ordained sacrifice to the society's fetish. The worshippers of one notorious fetish are called Human Leopards,

'because when seizing their victims for sacrifice they covered themselves with leopard skins, and, imitating the leopard's roar, sprang upon their victims, plunging two three-pronged forks into each side of the throat. There are also human alligators, disguised as alligators, who swim in the creeks upon the canoes and carry off the crew.'

These associations work in the dark because their deeds are too shocking for public opinion even in West Africa, being also, of course, highly criminal within any colonial jurisdiction; and they illustrate in its lowest and most nefarious stage that spirit of license under the cloak of religious mysteries which has given such meetings an ill repute in all ages and countries. The terror caused by the real leopard or crocodile has invested these animals with a kind of sanctity, so that to kill them brings bad luck; and this immunity is to the advantage of the murderer in the beast's skin, against whom it is difficult to bring proof that will satisfy white man's law. The best way of putting down these hideous practices would probably be to institute a detective police with special powers, upon the plan that was successfully adopted for extirpating the Thugs, who were a secret society of stranglers and poisoners in India.

We owe some apology to Miss Kingsley for reviewing in this article only those chapters of her book which deal with West African superstitions. It should be clearly understood that the range of her narrative and observations is much wider, and that its value consists largely in the description which she gives of the state and prospect of manners and morals on the coast, where the native tribes are gradually feeling the influence of the commerce, the colonisation, and the missionaries of Europe. Her conclusions are not hopeful, for the savage, like the wild animal, seems to degenerate as soon as he is tamed; and security is apt to breed indolence, which is fatal to the tribe, 'for inactivity in 'Africa is death.' And when you have eliminated from the indigenous religion all its superstitious terrors, the African, according to Miss Kingsley, falls away into a condition of careless self-indulgent debauchery, under which the race loses its vital vigour, and degenerates physically without much moral compensation. The prospect of punishment in a future existence is not near enough to tame the unruly affections of the sinful savage; he adopts only what is pleasant to him in the new dispensation, and degenerates in consequence, because what he really needs is severe religious discipline.

'Nothing strikes one so much, in studying the degeneration of these native tribes, as the direct effect that civilisation and reformation has in hastening it. The worst enemy to the existence of the African tribe is the one who comes to it and says: "Now you must civilise and come to school, and leave off all those awful goings-on of yours and settle down quietly." The tribe does so; the African is teachable

and tractable. . . . He treats his religion much as other men do: when he gets slightly educated—a little scientific, one might say—he removes from his religion all the disagreeable parts. He promptly eliminates its equivalent Hell, represented in Fetishism by immediate and not future retribution.

'Then goes his rigid Sabbath-keeping and food-restriction equivalent, and he has nothing left but the agreeable portions—dances, polygamy, and so on; and it's a very bad thing for him. I only state these things so as to urge upon people at home the importance of combining technical instruction in their mission teaching, which by instilling into the African mind ideas of discipline, and providing him with manual occupation, will save him from these relapses, which are now the reproach of missionary effort and the curse and degradation of the African.'

From this curious and valuable description of primitive beliefs and customs in their natural state of entangled confusion we turn to the philosophic and well-ordered survey of their origin, interconnexion, and underlying psychology that is presented to us by Mr. Jevons. In the opening pages of his volume we are warned that such religions as Christianity, Mahomedanism, and Buddhism have no place in the history to which the author introduces us. These positive religions, as he terms them, were designed to supersede others to which, being practised as a matter of custom and tradition, he gives the name of customary religions, and with these only he intends to deal. To this vast residuum of institutions, beliefs, and usages prevalent everywhere among wild folk and in the countries of ancient civilisation, he applies the methods of science and the principles of anthropology.

Now the instrument chiefly employed by science in the prosecution of these researches is the comparative method, which examines apparent resemblances in phenomena for the purpose of bringing out their essential differences; the record of successive differences being the history of their evolution. But in tracing the developement of later from earlier forms, Mr. Jevons desires to guard himself against admitting that monotheism was reached by a slow condensation out of rudimentary notions. Ideas and institutions, he observes, not only grow but decay; the Roman empire was a moral degeneration from the republic, and art often goes backward. The principle that religion is evolved may thus be accepted without rejecting the possibility that monotheism may have been the original religion, although on the other hand our lack of complete evidence prevents our assuming it to have been so.

The author's views in regard to the evolutionary process are worked out at length in his concluding chapters 'On 'Monotheism and the Evolution of Belief.' After stating very fairly the data of observation and experience which go to support the hypothesis that monotheism was evolved out of polytheism, he proceeds to argue, on the other side, that on evolutionary principles, and following the analogy of the law governing the developement of physical organisms, this hypothesis is untenable. Two of the highest existing species (monkeys and men, for example) may be descended from a common ancestor, but not one from the other. To suppose that monotheism could have descended from polytheism is, therefore, in his opinion, unscientific; and, what is more, Mr. Jevons holds that it would be contradicted by the actual facts of religious history, for he contends that the polytheisms known to science never pass into monotheism. And we gather that he prefers to conclude that the original ancestor of the monotheist was the worshipper of one out of a multitude of gods; the Henotheist of Professor Max Müller. The view adopted seems to be that man recognised from the beginning—subjectively, not from the external facts of which he was conscious—his dependence on a personal and supernatural Will, but found it to be impossible to identify this Will with more than one external object. Such may have been, originally, the totem or tribal god, and this single point of adoration is only lost eventually in polytheism by the confusion of deities resulting from a conflux of tribes, when each clan of a confederation worships not only its own totem god but the other clan totems. Or else the different gods are identified and their cults are fused, so that one deity is produced out of many; but in either case, whether of polytheism or syncretism, the original antecedent worship may have been monotheistic.

'The sacrifices offered to Jehovah by the Jews point back not to polytheism but to a low form of monotheism, in which each clan that offered sacrifice worshipped but one god, though that god was conceived in the form of the animal or plant which was sacrificed. This brings us to the question whether totemism, that lowest form of monotheism, is the earliest form of religion; and for the answer to that question we are reduced to conjecture.'

Mr. Jevons argues, also, that since of spiritual things the knowledge comes by inward intuition, not by means of inference, deductive or inductive, so it is quite possible that

a revelation of monotheism may have been made to prehistoric man.

It would not have been fair if, in endeavouring to review briefly an interesting book, we had omitted to mention the limitations thus placed by Mr. Jevons upon his application of evolutionary principles to the history of religion. But neither can we abstain from intimating the opinion that by diverging, with some incongruity, from the main lines of his argument, he has unnecessarily imported some disputable matter into his investigation of the origins and developement of primitive beliefs. It was enough for him, we think, to have excluded at the outset the great monotheistic faiths from the scope of his dissertations, without entering upon theories regarding the separate sources of monotheism, which are not likely to convince the thoroughgoing evolutionist, while the theologian may repudiate them as offering battle to the enemy on unfavourable ground. Revealed religion will have nothing to do with totemism, or with the hazardous contention that the pagan who selected for worship one god out of a legion carried in his breast the primeval monotheistic revelation. On the other hand is the risk that the students for whom this book is professedly written may not hold fast to the rather fine distinction between this view and the Comtist induction that the adoration of many supernatural agencies gradually concentrated upon the notion of a single omnipotent personality. To quote from one of the able essays issued under the title of 'Lux Mundi' (a book with which Mr. Jevons is evidently familiar), 'It is 'impolitic as it is unscientific to identify Christian Apology 'with a position' (the belief in primitive monotheism) 'which may one day prove untenable.' And though Mr. Jevons attempts no such express identification, the drift of his argument sets plainly that way.

Apart from these speculations there is substantial value in the careful comparison made by Mr. Jevons of the different shapes and species of religious belief to be found among all sorts and conditions of men, wherever the great creeds and churches have not formulated and moulded them authoritatively. His views are set out ably and persuasively, with great wealth of illustration, and a considerable capacity for assorting and co-ordinating a vast array of heterogeneous facts. We may perhaps suggest that the spirit of scientific arrangement, the craving of the modern mind for logical demonstration, are often too strong for him, so that he is impelled to lay down the basis of primordial ideas in terms

that are, in our opinion, inapplicable. In the remarkable chapter, which is well worth close reading, on the 'Super-'natural,' he contends that from the beginning man has distinguished between the natural and the supernatural, because from the first he had a clear though a very confined perception of uniformity in nature. Laws on which man could count, and sequences which he habitually initiated and controlled, were, he says, natural. It was the violation of these sequences and the frustration of his expectations that produced his original notion that the supernatural power was manifested merely in suspending or counteracting the uniformity of nature. According to this view any unusual movement of a river, such as a great flood, was first taken to be the sign of an active water spirit, who subsequently became identified, as the river god, with the ordinary aspect and customary flow of the stream which he had been discovered to inhabit.

It is always very difficult for the civilised inquirer to follow out and define the train of logical thought which brings primitive folk to their beliefs, and we doubt whether any light is really gained by crediting them with the ideas which underlie such terms as the 'uniformity of nature,' 'supernatural,' and 'natural.' So far as one can understand the savage, he makes no such distinction, and what the higher minds mean by supernatural is to him the most natural explanation of everything, usual or unusual, which surrounds him. He accounts for all movement by life and will; he invests even motionless objects with an indwelling spirit; he worships them all indiscriminately; and the fact that certain sequences are ordinary, and rarely if ever interrupted, does not remove them out of the divine category, for a tree or a stone may have mysterious influences; nor is there anything about a wolf, a tiger, or a snake that frustrates the wild man's expectations. It is to a large extent his experience of certain uniformities that suggests to him the action of extra-human forces, as in the case of fire, of wind, or drifting clouds. He does not worship these phenomena because they are unusual, but because they are unintelligible; and in his ignorance of second causes, as Hobbes says, he attributes to all these things existence; they appear and disappear; they are animated by the souls or spirits whom he locates everywhere, and so they are gifted with the attributes of power. Undoubtedly this power is most clearly signified in things casual or unexpected; but where every such sight, sound, or feeling whose cause is not obvious, from a headache to

a hurricane, is thus ascribed to some capricious agency, it seems hardly worth while to provide the bewildered savage with a logical basis for his ideas by crediting him with a fundamental perception of uniformity in nature. It seems better to say at once that in his instinctive attempts to link effects with some kind of cause he infers, by human analogy, that the perpetual motion and change round him of things visible must come from the incessant activity of beings like himself, but invisible. The savage theory of causation, Mr. Jevons observes truly, is not fundamentally different from the scientific; the inductive methods form the common framework of both minds. But when he goes so far as to say that 'the savage would probably be able to give his 'assent to all the principles of Mill's logic,' and that the differences between the two minds are not formal but material, we think that he overstrains the connexion to a point where it becomes misleading, and tends to darken the clear vision of actual facts. Of course the mental processes, like the brain structure, are the same in the lowest Australian as in a Newton or a Darwin, and even a monkey can reason, within his tether, from effect to cause like a philosopher. But this statement of the vague imbecile guesses of wild creatures in the rigid terms of art will bring little help to students, who should beware of too much method; and at any rate we submit that the simple habit of always attaching an effect to some immediate cause might have been touched upon with a lighter hand.

We acknowledge readily the careful and comprehensive treatment, the skill in marshalling facts to show their interconnexion and to support conclusions, that are brought to bear in this book upon the genesis and growth of primitive beliefs. It seems to us, however, that the writer's argument is complicated by the necessity of maintaining his initial thesis that mankind has from the beginning made a distinction between spirits natural and supernatural. 'Not all 'spirits,' it is said, 'are supernatural spirits. The man who 'believes the bowing tree or the leaping flame to be a thing 'like himself does not therefore believe it to be a supernatural 'being;' and we understand Mr. Jevons to hold that spirits of the dead are not ranked among the supernatural, that the ghost never becomes a god. We cannot affirm that this distinction is altogether untenable, but we think that it is much too absolutely stated here, and that it is open to quite as much objection as the converse theory, which Mr. Jevons rightly rejects, that all the gods of the earlier races

were the spirits of dead men divinised. But we do observe that Mr. Jevons finds the dividing line between his two spiritual classes, and their separate origin, rather difficult to keep up, for he has to admit that 'the spirits of the dead 'are occasionally credited with supernatural powers, that 'offerings to the dead become sacrifices to deities,' that 'there is a tendency to assimilate the private cult of 'ancestors to the public worship of the gods,' and that 'certain ancestors are, by some unexplained process, raised 'to the rank of gods.' The evidence that such promotion does occur is irresistible, and Mr. Jevons has to rebut it by declaring that these ancestors must have been originally reckoned as divine, else would they not have been worshipped? 'The fact is,' he says, 'that ancestors known to 'be human were not worshipped as gods, and ancestors 'worshipped as gods were not believed to be human.' How can Mr. Jevons, sitting in his library, be reasonably sure of that? And is it scientific to frame such positive generalisations regarding ideas and practices which vary infinitely at different periods and places, and which are always complex, entangled, and liable to become accidentally intermixed? It is also argued that the two systems—ancestor worship and public worship—could not have existed side by side if they had a common origin, because in that case one would have absorbed the other. But we much doubt whether this general assumption is incontrovertible, and we think it rests mainly upon notions of symmetry and consistency that are foreign to primitive religions, although they prevail among highly organised creeds, which do always absorb or destroy earlier and weaker forms.

Three very instructive chapters are devoted by Mr. Jevons to the subject of Taboo, a Polynesian word which has been adopted by the latest anthropologists to comprehend all the branches of what is certainly in one sense a universal institution. As thus used it includes not only that vast group of ideas and practices which attribute sanctity to certain persons, places, animals, and things tabooed, but also all ordinances of ceremonial purity or uncleanness, all prohibitory rules of caste and custom, all negative commands regulating social intercourse, especially between the sexes, and the etiquette which hedges round priests, kings, and women. The peculiarity of this code is that it operates mechanically, for any offence against it is punished mysteriously, so that he who touches things forbidden is as evilly infected as he would be by a virulent leprosy, and since the

infection is transmissible he becomes an outcast. Any interdict laid on property or land, to preserve rights or keep off intruders, falls within this category; you can employ the taboo maker to taboo a diamond mine against inconvenient explorers; and a European ship's captain has called him in to frighten from his vessel troublesome native visitors. The whole notion of mysterious curses attaching to some original sin or offence given to divinities, and descendible to posterity, belongs to the conception. It would almost seem as if such notices as 'No admittance except on business,' or 'Tres-'passers beware,' might be classed as modern survivals of taboo, if one could only persuade people that some unintelligible penalty would follow unlawful entry. That any breach of taboo was unintentional or well intentioned, made in good faith or for a moral purpose, tells no more in mitigation of the consequences than in cases of smallpox or diphtheria; it is simply a matter of contagion.

Now in regard to a very large proportion of cases this system admits easily either of a religious or a rationalistic explanation; it is probably the aboriginal method of enforcing respect for rules, whether superstitious, sanitary, or merely fanciful, that became current in savage societies; it contains the germ of all caste ordinances and excommunications. Where the taboo seems inexplicable and plainly irrational there is, as Mr. Jevons points out, greater difficulty, though the incoherence of ideas, and the freaks of the 'wild ranging 'mind' of primitive folk, may well account for our failure to trace out a meaning. Mr. Jevons decides that the sentiment, as it appears in its lowest manifestations, cannot have been derived from experience, because in many instances 'it is 'prior to and even contradictory to experience;' his conclusion is that taboo 'is an inherent tendency of the human 'mind,' and that the belief in its contagious properties is due to the association of ideas.

'In the history, or rather the prehistory, of man, taboo was never grossly material. It marked the awe of man in the presence of what he conceived—often mistakenly—to be the supernatural, and if his dread of contact with blood, babes, and corpses appears at first sight irrational, let us remember that in these, the three classes of objects which are inherently taboo, we have man in relation to the mystery of life and death, and in his affinity to that supernatural power which he conceived to be a spirit like himself.'

This somewhat metaphysical theory will not altogether satisfy those who find it hard to believe that the primitive mind is capable of travelling beyond the limits of experience,

hereditary and acquired; who think that all senseless, unmeaning and absurd applications of the taboo are little more than childish guesses, or tricks, or the survivals of some impression left by those chances and coincidences which timid superstition is constantly misinterpreting. Nothing can be more irrational, for example, than a large class of omens; or than the connexion discerned very recently in Persia between a stone set up by European surveyors and the failure of rain; yet it is quite evident that these foolish random conjectures easily harden into accepted beliefs, of which the origin becomes as utterly lost as the name of the first peasant or soothsayer who invented them. And it is not clear why senseless taboos should need a deeper explanation, while, if Mr. Jevons is right, as we think he is, in observing that taboo, once established, was enforced, perpetuated, and developed as a social obligation, its earliest meaning would very soon be transfigured in the process. The mischievous and useless customs are weeded out; the prohibitions that have some sense or motive in them are retained; the taboo follows the evolutionary course of all other fallacies, and it was probably bred out of the same haphazard conjecture that generates every kind of superstition.

In regard to Totemism Mr. Jevons adopts the theory of which Mr. Frazer has been hitherto the leading exponent, and which we must endeavour to state very briefly. It is well known that one of the earliest forms of human society is the grouping of men in tribes or clans, of which every member is akin to the other, either by descent, real or imaginary, from a common stock, or by the fiction of the blood covenant. These groups may be allies or may be enemies *inter se*; and the killing of any member by a hostile group creates a blood feud between the two tribes. But upon the totemistic hypothesis every species of animal is also regarded by man as a tribe, friendly or hostile, and in choosing an ally he naturally prefers some species that possesses supernatural powers. Every animal of this chosen species is a member by kinship of the human tribe; and every tribesman becomes a blood relation not only of the beast, but of the god incarnate within him, who is thus the ally and protector of the tribe—that is to say, its totem. From these aboriginal roots Mr. Jevons traces the growth of all the widespread conceptions regarding the worship of animals and plants, the sanctity of certain species, the sacred feasts, the whole order of sacrificial rites, the

slaying and eating of victims. 'The mere existence of 'sacrifice is an indication of the former existence of totemism.'

'Worship, as an act in its rudimentary stage, means only the sprinkling of blood on the altar; the blood sprinkled is that of the totem animal, and the only object of the rite is to renew the blood covenant between the totem clan and the totem species, and to procure the presence of the totem god. The idea of offering a sacrifice "to" a god is a notion which can only be developed in a later stage of totemism, when, on the one hand, the monolith has come to be identified with the god, and, on the other hand, the god is no longer in the animal.'

Thus in its primitive form the animal sacrifice and eating of the victim signified a desire to assimilate, with the flesh, the supernatural powers of the sacred animal; the notion of the victim being eaten by the god was a later transformation of the original motive; and still later comes the idea of atonement, that one member of the tribe must die for the rest. Trees and plants were, like animals, adopted as tribal totems; and so 'it is to totemism that we 'owe the cultivation of plants as well as the domestication 'of animals.' 'Trivial pretexts for slaughtering victims 'were frequently invented,' until what was at first eaten as a communistic sacrament became afterwards consumed for less mysterious purposes, with a few pious ejaculations, like grace before meat, as the sole relic of the primordial taboo.

Every consecutive link in the chain of this demonstration is carefully set out by Mr. Jevons, with a powerful array of examples collected from all parts of the earth to support each position. Those who read his book attentively will admire the conscientious workmanship, the skill and diligence with which an attractive theory is maintained, and they will be impressed by the curious colligation of strange and remote fancies with ideas which have since become world-wide religious conceptions, or with industries to which, like agriculture, we are indebted for the settlement of human society. With a very moderate amplification of these evolutionary principles one might trace almost every important idea and institution to the two sources of taboo and totemism. Our readers must understand that, for obvious reasons, we have been able to give no more than the outline, on a very small scale, of these interesting speculations; and with this warning we may confess that they suggest to the critical reviewer a certain degree of scepticism. In the history of all religions, even of those which first began among the ancient civilisations of Asia (where all the historic faiths arose), the problem of origins

is obscure and complex; the psychologic situation was even there so different from our own; the accidental circumstances, the causes and consequences, which determined the line of developement are so imperfectly appreciable. In the much earlier stages of the human imagination, when it was uncontrolled by reflection and reasoning, the whole superstitious atmosphere is so clouded and capriciously changeful that it is impossible, in our opinion, to be sure of discovering the elementary motives, or to give orderly sequence to a miscellaneous heap of disorderly customs. To construct hypotheses out of the materials available, to make intelligent conjectures, is quite legitimate and praiseworthy, so long as the student is fairly reminded that he must look for no certitude, and that he must not allow his mind to be so possessed by a comprehensive theory as to prevent his examining facts, if he gets the opportunity, very closely and independently. It is a well-known saying of Bacon that 'Method carrying a show of total and perfect know-'ledge has a tendency to generate acquiescence;' and for explorers in the field of folklore to be provided at starting with a master-key to the meaning of all queer ideas and customs is distinctly deleterious. It is apt to produce a kind of atrophy in the faculty of genuine observation.

We think that this caution is the more necessary, because Mr. Jevons pushes his evolutionary argument very far, and has framed a considerable scheme of psychological developement, which embraces the whole domain of religious sentiment, from the rude natural imagery of the savage up to the lofty intuitions of devout philosophy and the mystic symbolism of the Churches. Man, he observes, began by attempting to synthesise the external and internal facts of consciousness by a reasoning process; animals were the first of the external objects that thus came to be worshipped, and totemism was the first form of that worship; the totem or tribal god being for a long time the single object of worship. 'Totemism is the attempt to 'translate and express in outward action the union of the 'human will with the divine.' Finally, 'sacrifice and the 'sacramental meal which followed on it are institutions which 'are or have been universal . . . but before there can be a 'sacramental meal there must be a sacrifice. That is to say, 'the whole human race for thousands of years has been 'educated to the conception that it was only through a divine 'sacrifice that perfect union with God was possible for 'man.'

These extracts may serve to indicate, of course imperfectly, the line of thought upon which 'the bewildering 'details,' as Mr. Jevons truly calls them, of early ritual and adoration are arranged in this book, and the connexion which he discovers between the lowest and the highest efforts of human consciousness. There is much force and attractiveness in the demonstration of instinctive ideas animating all stages of religious belief, at times taking the shape of some monstrous chimera, and latterly becoming simplified and refined into deep intellectual convictions; nor are we in the least prepared to deny that all gradations of religion are pervaded, from the bottom to the top, by a sense of awful dependence on the supernatural powers. Whether it is possible so to co-ordinate and exhibit the filiation of innumerable facts and fancies, to appraise their value and determine their meaning, as to establish confidently the train of associated conceptions which leads up to these conclusions, is the point which may well be considered doubtful. We are by no means sure that anthropological phenomena of this class, the mental operations of primitive mankind under widely different circumstances, are yet reducible to general laws of growth and correlation like those which can be verified by physical science. Nor is it safe to borrow the terms of that science, or to rely upon analogies which it suggests; as, for instance, when we are told that differences of belief may be compared to the variations of organisms, so that whatever varieties of belief are not favoured by their environment will perish, while the rest will survive. You could not lay out the history of religion upon these self-acting principles, nor explain by them the great cataclysms which have swept over Asia, or the persistence and revivals of certain radical conceptions; while if no more were meant than that beliefs are modified by circumstances, this would be a mere truism.

That the religious idea is migratory and incessantly mutable, that the seeds of superstition are blown to and fro by chance winds, we all know; but it is just as certain that they are always springing up spontaneously out of congenial soil, and that accident, as well as imitation, brings about unexpected resemblances. Prehistoric archæology shows that the arts and implements of the earliest races were simple and similar everywhere, and the same may be said of the works of their imagination. The chapters in Mr. Jevons's book on 'The Next Life,' on 'The Transmigration 'of Souls,' and on 'The Mysteries,' are finely written, with

a true insight into the needs and propensities out of which arose and were developed ideas which have enormously influenced the mind of humanity. And he is quite right in pointing to Egypt and to India as the two countries in which the aboriginal notion of the soul's survival was purified and exalted by the priesthood into a sublime metempsychosis, with the theory of reward or retribution in the next world superadded to satisfy the conscience, and to provide the discipline of hopes and fears. But his main object in examining these subjects is to 'trace the career' of totemism, beginning with the view that after death man rejoined his totem, and assumed the shape of the plant or animal which he worshipped. Both in Egypt and in India the souls of the dead were understood to migrate into animals; though gradually, we are told, the totemist faith became generalised and dissociated from the particular animal, and the soul was allowed to take any such shape, until finally the virtuous were born again into a superior beast, and the wicked got something low or unclean. Now it is very probable that man's rudimentary animism did follow some such upward course as is here laid out, while it is certain that everywhere the superior priesthood trained and pruned the wild popular fancies into decent shapes and towards useful purposes. The question is whether we can really do more than register the broad lines of evolution, or whether it is necessary to insist on the universality of such customs as the totem and the taboo, enlarging them in order to interpret a miscellaneous quantity of customs which may possibly be akin, but which may have had, for all we can tell, other motives and origins. Let us take, for example, the custom (observed also by Miss Kingsley in West Africa) of savages daubing themselves with white clay, a kind of war painting. 'War,' says Mr. Jevons, 'is to the 'savage a sacred function'; the tribal god himself fights for 'his clan, the warriors are engaged in his service; as such 'they are taboo and dangerous, and they notify the fact by 'donning war paint.' This view is corroborated by the fact that in Greece, when a novice was to be initiated to the mysteries, he was plastered with white clay as a cleansing process. But is it demonstrable that the ceremonious plastering had anything to do with the war painting? Herodotus tells us, in a passage quoted, that when the Phocians consulted a Mantis upon ways and means of defeating the Thessalians he made six hundred of them plaster themselves with white clay, and sent them to make

a night attack, which was entirely successful. This is regarded by Herodotus as a clever stratagem, whereby the Phocians knew each other in the darkness; it reappears in the old French wars as the *camisade*, which means that the assailants wore their white shirts over their armour for fighting at night. But Mr. Jevons holds that Herodotus missed the real point, which was 'that warriors should be 'prepared for battle by previous purification and dedication 'to the gods.' A little straining of this theory would cover the suggestion that all military uniforms may lay claim to a long descent through the ages from the garb of taboo. Nor can we avoid the impression that these hypotheses flourish better in the modern scientific hothouse than in the open air among the rough emergencies of military life. Herodotus was the best observer of all ancient travellers, and while he had a good eye for divine things in their proper place, he lived among the realities of a rough time. Mr. Jevons proceeds to remark that 'the actor, like the warrior, 'was a sacred person during the discharge of his functions,' that the satyric clowns wore goat skins, and that the actor smeared his face with lees of wine to show that he was under the protection of the wine god—another clear case of totem and taboo. So it may have been, for all we know, but the derivation seems to us a little far-fetched.

We have permitted ourselves to pass some criticisms upon the leading generalisations relied upon in this book, because the principle of evolution seems in these post-Darwinian days to have obtained almost too complete a mastery over the minds of those engaged in all branches of research. With the vast increase of data requiring some kind of systematic and rational adjustment to human capacity, the employment of this dominant hypothesis has spread from the handling of things to the assortment of ideas, and in this region the most fascinating study is that of the religious idea. There is, we think, room for doubting whether some of the solutions proposed by Mr. Jevons for some of the most recondite problems of primitive psychology are tenable; and we are much inclined to agree with Miss Kingsley's warning to explorers that they must not set out with foregone conclusions, but must on the contrary leave at home all such baggage, with the other ingenious luxuries of civilisation. Nevertheless there is much worth and value in Mr. Jevons's work; nor does he insist dogmatically upon his own views, while the lucidity of his exposition and the large repertory of facts from which he draws his illustrations

are certainly impressive and possibly persuasive. The book also contains many truly philosophical remarks and reservations, and before taking leave of the author we may quote the following passage, which may be taken as explaining by analogy his general view of the evolution of belief:—

'The desire to unify our experience is a perennial need of human nature. The faith that it can be unified is not peculiar to religion, but is the base of all science. The track by which science has marched in its conquest of nature is marked by the ruins of abandoned hypotheses. One hypothesis is cast aside in favour of another which explains a greater number of facts; and though no hypothesis, not even evolution, accounts for all the facts of the physical universe (*i.e.* for all the external facts of consciousness), yet no man of science believes that the facts are incapable of explanation. On the contrary, he believes that they are only waiting for the right hypothesis, and that then they will all fall into line.'

It is from this standpoint, if we rightly understand him, that Mr. Jevons regards all the evidence of man's religious acts and feelings; and upon this principle he desires to establish some orderly scheme of their harmonious and consistent developement. Some doubt may be permitted whether in this department of research the data are as surely ascertainable, or the inferences as verifiable, as in the purely physical sciences which rely on sight and touch, on experiment as well as on ancient record and personal observation. Nevertheless we may freely acknowledge and admire the philosophic spirit, the sympathetic appreciation of man's striving upward out of darkness towards light, which Mr. Jevons has exhibited in his endeavour to decipher the obscure and intricate riddles of primitive psychology.

Professor Max Müller's book is the work of a distinguished scholar, who, after having devoted many years to the building up of the science of mythology upon a linguistic basis, has now resolved once more to affirm and energetically defend his main position. It has been so often and so strenuously attacked that some have hastily imagined it to have become untenable and even to have been abandoned; but the Professor has no thought of surrender. On the contrary, he has strengthened and provisioned it with vigorous arguments and fresh evidence; while he is so far from retreating that he makes sharp sallies upon his adversaries. To attempt, in a few pages, any adequate review of such an important contribution to the literature of religious origins, would be in the highest degree

presumptuous, especially as etymologic controversies lie beyond the scope of this article. We must be content with warning all rival folklorists who may have supposed that Professor Max Müller's views can be passed by as obsolete, that they are still within the range of a formidable battery; and we shall therefore touch only on those points in his book which contravene or bear down upon the theories that we have just been examining.

Although mythology does not, of course, cover the whole ground of historical religion, yet the interpretation of myths is so essentially concerned with the evolution of beliefs that by their conclusions upon this article opposing schools must stand or fall. Mr. Jevons makes no use of etymologic analysis, whereby the original and subsequent meanings of a divine name or legend can be extracted out of the comparative study of cognate languages. To Professor Max Müller, on the other hand, this method is of cardinal efficiency as a clue and a test; he maintains that the *hyponoia*, the underlying and related ideas, the way to unlock all the secrets of Aryan mythology, the solution of all its riddles, are to be found in the scrutiny of linguistic anatomy, in the rules of phonetic change, and the maladies of words. His attitude upon all these subjects, upon the modes of primitive thought, upon the fundamental analogy at the base of all religious conceptions, is too well known to need exposition here; though he has carefully restated them in the book now before us. That 'the gods were originally 'personified representatives of the most prominent pheno-'mena of nature,' and that natural events were taken as the acts of these representatives, is the vital principle upon which he takes his stand, and whoever does not hold this faith regarding the generation of the Aryan divinities is in mortal error. As the deeds of great men were said to be godlike, so the stories current about the Nature gods came to be told of real heroes or heroines, and as it is not possible to speak of the weather without personifying in speech the elements, so out of words meaning the sky, the clouds, rain, and thunder were evolved the great figures of polytheism; they arose, not only out of a necessity of thought, but also out of a necessity of language. The irrational and immoral characteristics of the classic deities should not be explained as survivals from prehistoric savagery; they are distorted misunderstandings of naturalistic allegory, derived from the first abstract conceptions of physical forces; for 'the 'foundation of all mythology was physical.' It is true that

other influences and impressions soon get to work upon the primary plastic material, that in later stages the authentic facts of human deeds or suffering become embedded in the primordial fiction; but those who are ready to discover historical fragments in mythology 'ought never to forget 'that, in this marriage between myth and fact, myth comes 'first.' It is not until a solar hero has been created that any other real hero can be called Hêrakles, and his achievements can be sung as the achievements of Hêrakles. In short, the gods impersonated the sense of will and design stamped upon the primitive mind by the action of the elements; they were the actors in the great drama of nature; and man's worship of them expressed his feeling of dependence upon those embodiments of the manifest yet mysterious powers which surrounded him.

So powerfully and positively is this comprehensive theory stated that, upon the principle of avoiding foregone conclusions as injurious to independent inquiry, we should be inclined to warn off all beginners in folklore from the study of these volumes, and to place them upon Miss Kingsley's index among the books which are dangerous for novices. In his own bright Aryan kingdom the philologist is supreme: he will have nothing to do with the outer barbarian; he takes slight account of customs and tales picked up among wild folk without any scientific knowledge of their language. Not much can be gained, in Professor Max Müller's opinion, by using such general terms as animism, totemism, fetishism, as solvents of mythological problems; and he rightly declines to trace back all theriolatry to totemism, particularly since some of the highest authorities on the myths and customs of savage races are by no means on the side of the thoroughgoing totemist. Dr. Codrington, whose book is the standard work on Melanesian folklore, has collected many specimens of ancestral animals revered and spared by various families or kindred groups; and not only the practice, but the word 'taboo,' is indigenous in the South Pacific Islands. But in regard to the full-blown totemistic system he is decidedly sceptical; and for the taboo custom, which is a prohibition with a curse, he cites various examples showing its accidental and arbitrary character, and indicating that for an explanation one need go no further than the worldwide and very useful practice, indispensable to all early lawgivers, of investing general rules and even casual orders with divine sanction. In short, if you spread out a custom so as to bring into affinity with

it or derivation from it anything belonging to the same category of notions or habits, the whole theory is reduced to the recognition of some general instinct or primitive human tendency, of the kind described under such a term as animism or supernaturalism.

The ethnological school, as led by Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. Jevons, would hunt an Aryan myth or custom back to a state of pre-existent savagery; they would discover its germs in similar beliefs or practices prevalent among Red Indians or Andaman islanders. This is one of the capital points upon which Professor Max Müller resolutely joins issue. Granted, he says, that the Aryans must have been savages, it does not follow that the Aryan savage, in his elaboration of myths and customs, acted exactly like other savages.

'Ancient languages, ancient beliefs and customs were not formed according to rule. Even if we were to admit that all human beings were born alike, their surroundings have always been very different, and their intellectual productions must have differed in consequence. Mythology is . . . determined in its growth by ever so many accidental circumstances, by ever so many human and inhuman influences, even by individual poets and sages. . . . It forms an immense conglomerate which excludes hardly anything that has ever passed through the mind of man.'

This is undoubtedly sound reasoning; and we may add the observation that it should be applied impartially to all methods of research into the origin of religious ideas. The attempt to trace out the long-winding course of any particular idea or practice up to its ultimate source, entangles the explorer in an intricate maze of queer habits and hallucinations, of which the nature and significance have really become undecipherable; the line is crossed, diverted, and ravelled until the clue becomes lost or erased; nor is it possible to stop at any one spot in the journey and proclaim that the source is found. To show that some rite or worship has a clear historical origin, or began within the memory of competent witnesses, is of no avail; the folklorist or the mythologist will so analyse and rearrange the facts as to explain the underlying hallucination which distorted them, or will maintain that the true incident was caught up into the atmosphere of a solar myth, and precipitated again upon earth in the shape of a divine legend. As in the metaphysical order all religions may be melted down into pantheism; so there is hardly any institution or article of faith, or 'thought that wanders through eternity,'

that may not be gently and reverently relegated through many transformations to its far-off birthplace among the elementary fictions or experiences of humanity; it can be provided with a home in the prolific bosom of some capacious theory. Totemism has been disinterred by Professor Sayce from the ruins of ancient Babylon; and the heraldic monsters of our own day might easily claim descent from the tribal worship of animals; the spider story may be nothing else but a totemistic impulse moving in Robert Bruce; and the horror of cats which possesses a distinguished soldier of our own day may be plausibly identified with the superstitious awe felt by earlier heroes in the presence of animals that were taboo. All warriors, indeed, are said to be themselves taboo by reason of their sacred profession; insomuch that it has been gravely asserted that an ordinance prevailing among certain fighting tribes of the Hindu Kûsh, which enjoins abstinence from women during war time, is a sort of taboo, although a more practical motive lies very ready to hand.

It is easy, indeed, to show that the scientific folklorist often rides his hobby too hard and too far, and does violence to the evolutionary principle, when he uses it to prove that some modern rite or rule, which can be accounted for historically or by common sense, is allied by descent to a savage custom, nationalised and modified by changing environments. On the other hand some of Professor Max Müller's illustrations of his general thesis, that 'All Vedic 'gods, nay, all Aryan gods, were in the beginning physical,' may still be received, even by good comparative mythologists, with respectful hesitation. That a large number of the divine shapes and legends are mainly personifications and poetic remains of natural appearances and forces is undeniable; but the determined application of etymological analysis, as if it were an infallible instrument or chemical test, produces results which strain the credit of an otherwise legitimate process. We cannot here enter upon questions of high scholarship; but we may refer our readers to the section in which, after pronouncing Leda to be a representative of the grey dawn, the Vedic Sura*n*yû, the writer tells us why he is 'as strongly convinced as ever 'that in the name of Helena we have a remnant of the 'Vedic Saramâ, a near relation of Sara*n*yû.' Yet the abduction of women and disputes over beautiful brides have been frequent causes of fighting in all rude ages; and who is to assure us that Homer's story is not historically founded

on some such very probable fact? Again, the watchdog, who guards the gate of a house or village, has been known everywhere; nor does the legend which posted him at the gate of Hell seem to need any deeper explanation than universal custom transferred from the upper to the lower world. Professor Max Müller, however, insists in this book on his well-known view that the word Kerberos is connected with the name of night (Sárvarî), of which he is said to be a representative.

'If,' he goes on to say, 'it be asked what could be the meaning of the fight of Hêrakles with Kerberos, and of his dragging him forth from Hades if only for a short time, that is a question difficult to answer in any case. But there is no reason why it should not have arisen from some proverbial saying that the rising sun had grappled with the darkness of the night, and let it fall into the abyss the very moment he himself had risen to the sky victorious.'

There is certainly no reason why such conjectures should not be hazarded; although the eminent scholar who makes them must be aware that he has thereby quitted his own special domain of high scholarship, and has generously offered battle upon the open field of ingenious guesswork and unverifiable probabilities, where all suggestions may pass current at an equal value.

We must be content, however, with passing rapidly over a book in which the author throws down a bold challenge to his numerous adversaries, and fairly offers to renew the battle upon well-known ground. Literature and philology rely for evidence on the past; with the present they have little to do; the Solar Myth finds slender warranty among the ascertainable beliefs and worships of the contemporary savage. The folklorist and the traveller among wild folk undertake to compare and correct the traditions and records of the past by actual observation of primitive societies; they do not reject Vedic texts or Greek fables, they seek rather to reconcile classic paganism with modern folklore and barbarous superstitions, and to explain the grand procession of religious ideas, the long history of human credulity, upon a system that will include all periods and peoples. We must express a doubt whether any complete synthesis of religious evolution is possible, and whether the modern mind, which is unsatisfied with anything that is not consistent, precise, and logical, is a fit instrument for hewing into symmetrical shape the rude conglomerate blocks of superstition in the dark ages. In every chain of

proof there are always missing links which have to be supplied at haphazard; in the piecing together of a great jumble of miscellaneous facts there are many which cannot be fitted in, are anomalous, or even contradictory, and which must be rejected as spurious or silently thrown aside. They are naturally valued according to the use that can be made of them, so that upon this system a story extracted from some ancient writer, or the metaphor of an Indo-Aryan hymn, ranks equally with the latest myth-makings of Polynesia or Guiana.

Some of our readers may consider that our conclusions are too sceptical, and that the construction of trustworthy hypotheses upon materials carefully tabulated, assorted and cemented, is well within the resources of science. We agree that the immense information available in these days can be arranged upon general plans, and that the broad lines of developement followed by religious ideas can be demarcated, mainly because human imagination, like human inventiveness in dealing with things social and political, has always kept within certain definite channels of causation. But anyone who desires fairly to realise the difficulty of tracing any particular story, fact, or fancy to its actual origin, may do so by selecting some quaint custom or belief which has survived to our own day, with a clear historic pedigree, and considering what likelihood there would be of tracing it back to its real source, without the aid of authentic history. Who could ever discover, by the comparative method, the true reason why Guy Faux is carried round on November 5, why the curfew tolls the knell of parting day, why oak sprigs are worn on May 29, or even primroses on a fixed date in April? A strong savour of myth and totemism could probably be detected in all these things, and in others that might be easily added. Again, it is quite possible to bring within the sphere of taboo and totemism some of the chief rites and ceremonies of the three great historical religions, and indeed the evolution of belief is carried up to this point, in certain cases, by Mr. Jevons and others. Yet if we suppose the true record of the origin of Christianity and Islam, or even of Buddhism, to have been entirely lost, what a completely false and misleading theory regarding the causes and circumstances which governed the rise and growth of these rites and creeds might have been constructed out of their connexion with deep-rooted aboriginal instincts, out of fantastic analogies, and a philosophy which leans largely upon imaginative subtlety!

The attempt to solve the problem of origins requires, as Renan has said, a keen eye to discriminate between things certain, probable, and plausible, a profound sense of the realities of life, and the faculty of appreciating strange and remote psychological situations. And even with all these rare qualities, it is very difficult to attain certitude in the problem's solution. There must be always wide gaps and obscure interspaces where one can only measure possibilities, draw cautious inferences, note half-seen indications, and choose the likelier clue among many. All that can be done, for the most part, is to apprehend clearly the general course and character of prehistoric religion, to mark its outlines and prominent features, to catch its tone and colour, and so to preserve some true impression of social and intellectual states through which the foremost nations of the world have passed, and which still survive among many races for whose welfare the British people are directly responsible.

ART. X.—1. *Parliamentary Papers: South Africa.* 1896 and 1897.

2. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Cape Colony on the Jameson Raid into the Territory of the South African Republic.* Capetown: 1896.

3. *Cecil Rhodes: a Biography and Appreciation.* By IMPERIALIST. With Personal Reminiscences by Dr. JAMESON. London: 1897.

4. *South Africa as it is.* By F. REGINALD STATHAM. London: 1897.

IT is eminently desirable that the public should have an accurate, if general, conception of what has really been happening in South Africa since the autumn of 1895. In the early part of 1896 the popular mind was keenly excited by events of a dramatic character, which called for the immediate action of our statesmen. Both people and statesmen, it has since transpired, were at that time, and for a considerable time afterwards, without knowledge as to the true nature of these events, and the part played in them by persons in public and conspicuous positions—positions which entitled them, *prima facie* at all events, to the confidence with which Englishmen are accustomed to regard their public men.

As time has progressed, abundant evidence has come to light bearing upon the transactions of the winter of 1895–96 till a point has been reached where the public judgement is in greater danger of being smothered by masses of detail than of suffering from lack of material. Yet to those who have taken the pains to study the whole story of recent events, and to keep their minds free from the violent prejudices of Mr. Rhodes's extreme partisans on the one side and of Mr. Labouchere on the other side, that story stands out in great simplicity and clearness. Indeed, the judicial inquirer is surprised that in so much bitter controversy there should at last be so little dispute about facts. What concerns us here is how these facts should be regarded. The criminal courts, committees of investigation, the Governments concerned, have to consider what shall be done. They are bound to regard the expediencies as well as the equities involved. More important, perhaps, in the long run than the treatment of individuals by courts, cabinets, and committees is it that a sound public opinion

should form itself and make itself heard upon the story as a whole. Here the judgement of the public will not and ought not to depend upon the view that may be taken as to some particular item or detail of evidence, as it is slowly extracted by an almost interminable inquiry, of a refusal by one witness to answer a question, of another to produce a disputed telegram, of the retailing by a third of some half-forgotten conversation. What is undisputed as regards facts is amply sufficient to justify certain conclusions, and to certain very definite and very decided conclusions, unless we are much mistaken, the healthy mind of the British public will come.

In April 1896, we considered very fully in these pages the causes which had brought about the existing position of affairs in South Africa and the rights and duties of Great Britain in that part of the world.* On the present occasion we shall confine ourselves to that special chapter of South African history which opened in the autumn of 1895 with the agreement between Uitlander residents (British subjects and foreigners) in the South African Republic and eminent personages in Cape Colony, to accomplish their objects by the employment of military force against the Transvaal Government and constitution. We have not yet seen the full consequences which are to result from the making, the failure, and the ultimate disclosure of these projects. Embittered feelings between English and Dutch fellow-subjects, strained relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal, massacres of colonists by natives, native risings vigorously suppressed, and a most unfortunate and unnecessary stirring of popular sentiments of national antagonism in England and Germany, are some of the fruits already reaped.

Much mischief has been done. More, perhaps, may yet follow. But no advantage is to be gained either as regards past or future by shirking investigation. We have no sympathy with those who have all along contended that public inquiry into recent events in South Africa was to be deprecated, and, indeed, that the Imperial Government would have acted well and wisely if, after the conviction of Dr. Jameson and his associates before the Lord Chief Justice of England, it had determined to let bygones be bygones, and to refuse to lend its sanction to any further investigation.

At that trial it was proved that a gross outrage had been

* Edinburgh Review, April 1896, vol. clxxxiii. p. 273.

committed by Englishmen on a friendly State. Moreover, the good faith of the nation lay, rightly or wrongly, under grave suspicion. The House of Assembly at Capetown had in May 1896 appointed a committee, before which evidence had been produced tending to implicate high officials in the Imperial and Colonial public service in aiding and abetting an elaborate conspiracy to overturn the government and constitution of the Transvaal, and which threw strong suspicion, to say the least of it, on their complicity with the raid itself.

A majority of the Capetown Committee, whilst regretting that Mr. Rhodes had not chosen to come before them, declared that

'they could come to no other conclusion than that the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad. That in his capacity as controller of three great joint-stock companies—the British South Africa Company, the De Beers Consolidated Mines, and the Gold Fields of South Africa—he directed and controlled the combination which rendered such a proceeding as the Jameson Raid possible.'

The Cape House of Assembly had itself, when appointing the above-named committee, unanimously requested the Imperial Government 'to institute a searching investigation 'into the originating and carrying out of the inroad,' and to 'establish effective measures, as regards the future ad-'ministration of Rhodesia, or otherwise to render impossible 'a repetition of any such event.' The Government of the Transvaal had in the following month pressed, not unnaturally, upon her Majesty's Government the taking steps to prosecute Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, and Rutherfoord Harris, as had already been done with regard to Dr. Jameson and his accomplices, and had expressed its conviction 'that it is 'urgently necessary that the entire control and administra-'tion, as well civil as military, should be taken out of the 'hands of the British South Africa Company and transferred 'to her Majesty's Government.' The Chartered Company, on its side, had also at a very early date, whilst Mr. Rhodes was still in Africa—viz., on January 9, 1896—requested the Imperial Government to institute a searching and thorough inquiry into the circumstances connected with the raid; and the Secretary of State had again and again undertaken at the earliest possible moment to cause thorough investigation to be made into the whole subject.

Nevertheless, when Parliament met last January a strong feeling became manifest in a portion of the Press and in

influential quarters in favour of dropping all further inquiry. 'Let bygones be bygones,' it was said. Let what might have been done, let who might be suspected, a wise statesmanship would bury the past. Why wash our dirty linen in public? it was asked. Fortunately for the good name of the nation the Government resisted this pressure. It is better that dirty linen should be washed in public than not at all. And Mr. Chamberlain was not the man to pursue the policy of 'hushing up' so energetically pressed upon him, and to stifle investigation which was rendered necessary by the general suspicion in which the whole story was wrapped, which had been expressly demanded by the Cape Parliament, the Transvaal Government, and the London directors of the Chartered Company, and which had been repeatedly promised by the Secretary of State himself.

On the day after the conviction of Dr. Jameson, Mr. Chamberlain had at once intimated his intention to ask the House of Commons to appoint a committee, and at the earliest moment of the present session that committee was duly nominated. Mr. Chamberlain himself would have preferred to have had the matter investigated by a body of a more judicial nature than a House of Commons committee, and one which would have made the investigation its chief business till its labours were ended. The Opposition, however, and Sir William Harcourt favoured a House of Commons committee. It was, of course, desirable that the House should act unanimously, and accordingly a committee, strong if we consider its personal composition, was appointed to investigate and report upon, first, the circumstances attending the raid; and, secondly, the administration of the Chartered Company.

This committee began its labours on February 16, and has accordingly sat for five months. During that time it has sat on thirty days, nominally for three hours a day. As a matter of fact, its sittings have frequently been much under three hours, and the time devoted to taking evidence has been much less still, owing to the necessity of the members of the committee having to discuss various points amongst themselves. Let us assume, however, that it has sat for ninety hours in the session—*i.e.* at the rate of eighteen hours per month. A judicial tribunal would in three weeks have given as much time to the inquiry as the committee has in five months. But the committee sits only during the session—*i.e.* for seven months it will not sit at all. So that we are far within the mark in stating that in

six weeks a judicial tribunal would do the work which it will take the House of Commons Committee two years to do!

There is no doubt something to be said against statutory quasi-judicial commissions, for which of course the Parnell Commission is the most conspicuous precedent. But on the other hand Englishmen, who fortunately are accustomed to a high standard in judicial inquiries, have been disappointed at the want of thoroughness, the lack of dignity, and the lamentable partisanship which from time to time have been manifested in the recent proceedings. Mr. Labouchere's action in writing to a newspaper an attack upon those very persons into whose conduct he was judicially inquiring cannot be too severely condemned. On the other side, the impatience with which Sir William Harcourt's very necessary and proper cross-examination of the Chartered Company's witnesses was received, and the antagonistic attitude assumed by certain members towards other witnesses whose evidence was probably distasteful to Mr. Rhodes and his friends, were far from edifying. In short, it is clear that the political partisanship of the House of Commons, and the impossibility of combining with the judicial character the advocate's business of examination and cross-examination of witnesses, unfit its committees from adequately performing quasi-judicial functions of this kind. Inevitably the inquiry degenerates into a party contest.

We have said that the main facts of the South African story, to which we shall shortly refer, are now hardly in dispute. It is an additional subject for satisfaction that the law applicable to the chief incident in this story has also been put beyond all question by the lucid charge to the jury of the Lord Chief Justice of England. Lord Russell, assisted by Mr. Justice Hawkins and Baron Pollock, formed as strong a criminal court as could be wished, to try the charges against Dr. Jameson and the military officers associated with him in the Raid.

The offence was the preparation and fitting out of an expedition from British territory against a friendly State. The taking part in the expedition was merely evidence of the preparation and fitting out, which the statute had constituted the gist of the offence. The offence, therefore, might have been committed by British subjects anywhere, and not merely on the borders of the colony from which the expedition started. Men who conspired to forward this expedition, whether they were in London, in Paris, or in

Capetown, had broken the law just as clearly as those at Mafeking. In the eyes of the judges who tried and sentenced the defendants, they could not be regarded as half-instructed men who almost unawares had blundered across the provision of an Act of Parliament. Here was no mere technical breach of the law. Dr. Jameson held the high and responsible public position of Administrator of Rhodesia. Sir John Willoughby and his associates held commissions in the household and other regiments of the army, and for months before the raid itself they had made use of their official positions to prepare a military attack upon a neighbour State. We now know beyond all cavil that the raid was no mere outburst of hot-headed enthusiasm. The political head of Rhodesia had for months past, in concert with officers of the British army, been collecting arms, storing provisions, inquiring into the military strength and equipments of the Boers, and of the arsenal at Pretoria—in short, taking the necessary preliminary steps to carry out a military *coup de main* upon the Boer capital, when the right moment should arrive. After crossing the frontier and before meeting the forces of the Transvaal, Dr. Jameson and his officers were on two occasions ordered in the Queen's name to return, one message having been sent by the Secretary of State, the other by the Governor of the Cape. Both were disregarded, and the advance continued till the surrender at Krügersdorp, after a considerable number of men had been killed and wounded. In some countries, as the Lord Chief Justice observed, those made prisoners would have been very speedily dealt with. In this case the Transvaal authorities handed them all over to the British Government to be tried by their own countrymen. Their leaders were alone put upon their trial. They were convicted, there being in fact no defence, and were sentenced by the court to terms of imprisonment, without hard labour, for periods ranging from fifteen months to five months.

It is not usual in this country for the court to take into consideration in sentencing prisoners the indirect consequences of conviction, such as the loss of situation or reputation may probably entail. Here, in truth, the main punishment as regards the officers was the loss of their commissions, and if this had fallen upon men who were merely blindly carrying out the orders of immediately superior officers, that punishment would undoubtedly have been severe. In themselves the sentences of the court seem lenient; but they

were immediately modified by the Home Secretary, who explained in the House of Commons that sentencing was the function of judges, not of ministers, but who next day practically altered these sentences by making the prisoners first-class misdemeanants only. But even yet justice was to be still further tempered with mercy. Dr. Jameson's ill-health in detention brought about his complete release when he had undergone, we think, about half the term imposed by the court; and Sir John Willoughby's was shortened apparently because, his evidence being needed before the House of Commons Committee, it would have been painful to him and them that he should have appeared before them as a prisoner.

The leniency with which the public has regarded the authors of so much evil is due very largely, it must be remembered, to the original misapprehension of the facts of the case. The Raid, as the circumstances attending it have become gradually known, bears a very different aspect to that originally accepted by nine-tenths of the people. When the news was flashed along the wires that Jameson with a few hundred Englishmen had burst across the frontier of the Transvaal to the rescue of English women and children at Johannesburg, who were calling for his assistance in their imminent peril from armed and infuriated Boers, and that, even whilst one read the news, in all probability Englishmen and Dutchmen were actually contending in the field, British patriotism as a matter of course rallied warmly to the side of its own countrymen. The country wished for the success of its own arms, and when a day or two later the German Emperor thrust himself forward as the friend of our enemies an explosion of popular indignation took place. The Government did well in at once sending to sea the special service squadron, thus taking the most appropriate step to convince all whom it might concern that no difficulties between ourselves and the Transvaal would render admissible the interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of South Africa. In the Jameson Raid the Poet Laureate saw another Charge of Balaclava, and many people, perhaps of more prosaic temperaments, were ready enough to condemn the Colonial Secretary for repudiating, as he did from the very first instant in no measured terms, the 'filibustering' action of Dr. Jameson and his men. Why, asked Mr. Chamberlain's critics, should Englishmen be condemned unheard? Fortunate, indeed, is it for this country that at a time of such excitement the Colonial Office was

presided over by a strong man who knew his own mind. Two days before the surrender at Krügersdorp Mr. Chamberlain had telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson that Dr. Jameson had committed 'an act of war—or, rather, filibustering'—against a foreign and friendly State, for which the circumstances afforded no shadow of excuse. If the Chartered Company 'had set Dr. Jameson in motion or were privy to 'his marauding action,' the Government would be compelled to consider whether the 'charter should not be revoked and 'the corporation dissolved.' The Secretary of State in vain invited Mr. Rhodes—the Prime Minister of the Cape and the Managing Director of the Chartered Company—to join him in repudiating these lawless proceedings of his subordinates. Maybe the voice of Mr. Rhodes would have secured more attention from Dr. Jameson and officers of the British army than even the commands of their Sovereign transmitted to them by her Secretary of State and her representative at the Cape!

Mr. Chamberlain little knew then of the circumstances since brought to his knowledge and to that of the public. His despatches and his speeches conclusively show the ignorance in which the Colonial Office had been kept as to the part which had been played by leading officials of the Chartered Company. Badly informed as he was from the very first, he did the right thing in dissociating the Imperial Government from the action of that company and its officials, avoiding the mistake into which so many fell at the time, of identifying with the fortunes of its manager British patriotism and national feeling. It lies at the very root of the true understanding of the troubled events of the last two years in South Africa and of the present position, to realise that the difficulties with the Transvaal have been difficulties between that State and the officials of the Chartered Company rather than between that State and Great Britain, as represented by her statesmen, governors, and public servants. To the Chartered Company has been delegated, under the sanction of Parliament, wide authority over large districts of South Africa, but the relations between the Empire and foreign States are not in its hands, and it is intolerable that its officials should behave as if the sole duty of the British Government was to give the sanction of British force to any action which ambitious managers of that corporation may choose to take.

To-day the public is no longer in the dark. Krügersdorp was no Balaclava. The Raid was no gallant rush to the rescue,

but the premeditated part of a long-planned scheme framed with other objects than the safety of women and children. The inquiry before the House of Commons Committee has thrown little more light upon the circumstances of the Raid than was to be gathered or very clearly inferred from the evidence produced before the committee at Capetown. Still, in a case of so much importance to individuals, it was clearly most desirable that direct proof, so far as possible, should be given, and that persons affected by it should be invited to give their explanations. Moreover, the evidence and report of the Cape Committee had not received in the English press the full notice due to their great importance, and consequently the general public was still largely left in its original belief, that the whole trouble had arisen out of the gallant, if hasty, action of 'Dr. Jim,' in responding to an invitation from Johannesburg to advance to the rescue of English women and children from well-armed and infuriated Boers. The advance across the frontier, it will be remembered, took place on Sunday evening, December 29, 1895; the letter of invitation to Dr. Jameson from leading citizens in Johannesburg was published in the 'Times' of January 1, 1896, having been telegraphed on December 30 to that paper by Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, the secretary of the Chartered Company, upon the instructions of Mr. Rhodes. The history of this letter to Dr. Jameson is a very curious one. It was obtained by Dr. Jameson himself when at Johannesburg, in November 1895, from Colonel Rhodes and four other leaders of the Reform party, and was purposely left undated in order that the date might be put in, when in Dr. Jameson's judgement the time for acting upon it had arrived. On December 20, Mr. Rhodes asked Dr. Harris to telegraph to Johannesburg for a copy of this letter, and the copy he received bore that date—December 20. This date Dr. Harris did not altogether understand, so when on Saturday, December 28, he received a telegram from Dr. Jameson that the letter was to be published at once, he thought he would be carrying out Dr. Jameson's wishes by inserting the date of December 28, so as to suit the time of the actual invasion, and by further stating to the 'Times' that the letter of invitation had just been sent to Dr. Jameson at Mafeking. Thus a letter written to Dr. Jameson at his own request, six weeks before, was made to assume the appearance of an urgent demand for the assistance of Dr. Jameson's forces in the imminent peril to which the harmless English inhabitants of the

mining city had become suddenly exposed. This letter was read by Dr. Jameson to the troopers before the advance took place. Mr. Rhodes has explained that he himself did not notice the changes of date in the letter, and that in directing it to be sent to the 'Times,' he had no intention whatever of conveying that that invitation was the immediate cause of Jameson's advance. Jameson had made the raid without his, Rhodes's, authority, but, subject to that remark, he, Mr. Rhodes, declared himself quite ready to accept the findings as to facts of the Cape Committee.

Amongst the findings of the Cape Committee, amply supported by documentary evidence, and accepted, as we have seen, by Mr. Rhodes, it is worth while to call attention to the following:—

'In addition to finding large sums of money, which to a great extent financed the revolutionary movement in Johannesburg, it is in evidence that the British South Africa Company, by means of its agents and employés, imported and smuggled large quantities of arms and ammunition from this colony to the South African Republic. During the months of October, November, and December 1895 large quantities of arms were forwarded by the British South Africa Company over the Cape Government railways to Kimberley and Mafeking,'

whence their distribution was superintended by the company's agents; Maxim guns, ammunition and rifles, concealed in drums of oil, being thus consigned ultimately to Johannesburg. It is now fully admitted, as, indeed, after the documents brought to light it was impossible to deny, that an armed revolution had been long prepared; arms had been introduced, provisions had been stored to enable Johannesburg to stand a siege, and by the time the Raid occurred, expenses on a very large scale had been incurred, the contribution of Mr. Beit alone, one of the Chartered Company's directors, amounting to about 200,000*l.*, and that of Mr. C. J. Rhodes to about 60,000*l.* But what is common knowledge now was entirely unsuspected by the British public in the early part of 1896, when the rescue theory of the Raid prevailed. Sir Hercules Robinson, the Colonial Office, and all, or at least several, of the Chartered Company's directors were in ignorance as complete as that of the public, of the plans of Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Beit, and the Johannesburg Reformers.

It is worth while now to call to mind Mr. Chamberlain's despatch of February 4, 1896. In this he explained very clearly the grievances of the Uitlanders, observed that when the first rumour of a contemplated raid reached him it

had seemed 'almost incredible,' recapitulated the energetic measures of prevention which he had taken, and mentioned the magnanimity, the wisdom, and the moderation shown by President Kruger in handing over the raiders for trial in England. But what in the light of later knowledge makes this despatch so important is contained in paragraphs 8, 11, and 12:—

'Up to the time of the Raid the Uitlander leaders had kept within the limits of constitutional agitation, but their success in this direction was not encouraging. . . . It seems to be proved that, whatever may have been the secret schemes of individuals, the agitation, as the great majority of the Uitlanders understood it, and to which they gave their sympathy, was one proceeding on the only lines on which an agitation against an organised Government of military strength can proceed with any hope of success—that is to say, it was an open and above-board agitation, prosecuted without violence and within the lines of the Constitution.'

Par. 13 shows the spirit in which any inquisitiveness on the part of the Imperial authorities would have been received in certain influential quarters:—

'It is needless to say that her Majesty's Government had watched the progress of these events with careful attention. Apart from their legitimate concern for the interests of so large a body of British subjects, they could not but feel a keen anxiety lest the agitation should degenerate into a contest with the constituted authorities; but there was no ground for their active intervention. The Uitlanders and their organs had always deprecated the introduction into the dispute of what is called in South Africa the "Imperial factor." To have intervened uninvited seemed impracticable, and calculated only to be injurious to the prospects of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement.'

We now know of course that the Colonial Office no less than the public was completely deceived. Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Selborne have both stated exactly what they knew and what they believed at the time the Raid took place, and it need scarcely be said that the public attaches the most implicit confidence to their words. Indeed, the slight difference between their account of the conversation in August 1895 at the Colonial Office and that given by Dr. Harris is no greater than is almost certain to arise in the recollection of a conversation nearly two years old by persons who look at its subject matter from a different point of view. The Colonial Office at home, and its representative at the Cape, after all their intercourse with Chartered Company officials, believed merely that there was brewing in Johannesburg much discontent amongst the Uitlanders,

and that this might, sooner or later—perhaps in a few weeks' time, perhaps not for a couple of years—break out into insurrection. They did not know who its leaders were. They had no idea of the 'Jameson plan' or the contemplated 'Jameson Raid,' nor had they the slightest suspicion that the Johannesburg revolution was being largely controlled and financed from Capetown.

Now in one sense all this is eminently satisfactory; yet in another sense it is surely very much the reverse! How comes it that so wide-reaching a conspiracy could have been carried to such a length, that such a large part of the programme should have been successfully carried out, without the knowledge of our high Imperial officials at home and abroad? Whilst honourable, active, and able ministers in Downing Street think that in the course of years a revolution—a perfectly *bona-fide* one—might break out in Johannesburg, the plot was already carefully drawn out, the city armed and provisioned, the troops collected, and the day fixed. The Prime Minister of Cape Colony was, of course, the mainspring of the plan. He was in daily communication with the Governor of the Cape and with other Imperial officials. He was in a second degree a minister of the Queen. He had colleagues, who had surely a right to be trusted by their chief. It is not our business here to discuss the conduct of individuals where any defence can yet be made. But Mr. Rhodes has admitted the charges brought against him. His policy was to confide only in those (whether Imperial officers or not) of whose devotion to himself or to the Chartered Company he felt sure. Of course he did not tell Mr. Chamberlain. Of course he did not tell Sir Hercules Robinson. They had duties to the Empire which most assuredly they would perform, even at the risk of loss of an opportunity to the Chartered Company. Thus persons who could not be trusted by Mr. Rhodes were duly hoodwinked, whilst in others he found tools. And so it happened that a conspiracy which should have been exposed and denounced by the Colonial and Imperial Governments owed its ultimate defeat to the rifles of the Boers.

The Raid cannot of course any longer be palliated or defended as it once was. It was, we *now* know, as regards the 'inner circle' of the plot, an essential part of the Johannesburg conspiracy, and it is not right or fair to consider the one without the other. What then is *now* alleged on the part of Mr. Rhodes and his friends to

justify or excuse his action? As time has passed, various defences have been put forward by friends who ought to have been, and who represented themselves as being well informed, as to their chief's objects. One of these, put forward with no little pretension to authority, based Dr. Jameson's sudden inroad upon Mr. Rhodes's knowledge of German intrigues at Pretoria. It was, indeed, fully admitted that it was Mr. Rhodes himself who had made the Raid, his object being to seize at Pretoria certain highly incriminating documents, to expose a dastardly plot, and so save the British Empire from the dangerous machinations of President Kruger with the German Emperor. But nothing of this sort seems any longer to be alleged, and neither Mr. Rhodes nor any other member of the Chartered Company has given any evidence at any stage of the inquiry to support this theory. In its last phase the defence takes high ground. True there was a great conspiracy. True a raid was prepared as part of it. But the circumstances at Johannesburg justified the conspiracy. It was a great pity it did not succeed, for then those whom a technical law now regards as guilty of crime would be honoured as the heroes they are, and the wide scope and large patriotism of the statesmanship of Mr. Rhodes would be acknowledged on all hands. The Raid started at an inopportune moment, and against Mr. Rhodes's wishes. The 'Jameson 'Raid' was a mistake. It was ill-timed. The 'Jameson 'Plan' was a statesmanlike conception. The Uitlander grievances made a revolution at Johannesburg the duty of patriotic inhabitants of the mining city. It might, strictly speaking, be illegitimate for British subjects to lend material force to the Revolutionists or Reformers. But think of William III., of Garibaldi, of Colonel Vassos! Their proceedings were scarcely regular, yet how do we regard their actions?

What view, then, does it behove the public to take as to the merit or demerit of these proceedings?

We have thought it right to name at the head of this article the book in which Mr. Rhodes's claim to the gratitude and admiration of his countrymen appears to be put forward with most authority. It could hardly have been written without, at least, the knowledge and sanction of Mr. Rhodes, whose words uttered in private are often brought before us by the anonymous author. Its last chapter, devoted to personal reminiscences of the great statesman, is written by his lifelong friend Dr. Jameson. In this

work Mr. Cecil Rhodes is described as one of the wisest and noblest of Englishmen. He had made money in order to further objects of pure patriotism, rather than to accomplish any end of his own. Indeed, he does not value money for its own sake, but solely as an instrument of power. It has always been his dream to extend the Empire, a dream too often thwarted by an incompetent, or selfish, or parochial-minded British statesmanship. The only hope for South Africa lies in Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company; indeed, the reader could never guess, from 'Imperialist's' account, that Imperial officers or troops had ever lent assistance to the establishment and protection and extension of South African civilisation! The praise sometimes seems extravagant, it must be admitted. On the other hand, it is quite true that, owing to Mr. Rhodes, the bounds of the Empire have been widely extended, and assuredly no one who studies the facts doubts that Mr. Rhodes really does possess in a high degree one quality of greatness—the power of gaining an almost unlimited ascendency over smaller men. His almost unprecedented wealth, and the quite unprecedented skill with which he wields this favourite 'instrument 'of power,' would not have sufficed him, were they not united with personal endowments of a very exceptional nature. We have no intention here to follow Mr. Rhodes's career, some portions of which have surely been forgotten or too lightly touched upon by his biographer. But we cannot allow all inquiry into facts to be treated as unnecessary because of the unimpeachable virtues of that great statesman.

> 'If all the ends he aims at are his country's,
> His God's and truth's,'

he will fall, no doubt, 'a blessed martyr;' if he falls at all. As yet such a martyrdom does not seem to be at hand. There is abundant evidence, as we have said, to guide us to certain conclusions as to recent events; and in such circumstances no wise judge will give overwhelming weight to 'mere 'witnesses to character.'

It is a little dangerous, we are fully aware, to criticise Mr. Rhodes or the Chartered Company.

'The more the work of the Chartered Company,' says 'Imperialist,' 'is looked into, the more favourably it will compare with that of any other similar company; and the day will come—it is not, I think, far distant—when the carping criticism to which the company and its founder have been so long subjected will seem as disgraceful to the

intelligence or the honesty of the carpers, as it is disloyal to the Empire to which they belong.'*

The connexion between the Company and the Empire would appear to be much closer than that between the Empire and its own officials; for at p. 137 we come upon the following very remarkable passage referring to the Raid (the italics are our own) :—

'Mr. Rhodes, as Cape Premier, acted *to some extent* without the *official* knowledge of the High Commissioner, whose approval would have made all these precautions perfectly regular, and who was certainly perfectly aware of the impending revolution at Johannesburg, and *perhaps not altogether ignorant* of the preparations. He, of course, intended also to use Jameson's force to insure the success of the insurrection in the Transvaal.'

And 'Imperialist' goes on to refer approvingly to the unhappy annexation proceedings of Sir T. Shepstone and Sir Bartle Frere. Thus it is 'disloyal' to criticise the late managing director of the Chartered Company; whilst it is patriotic to insinuate that the representative of the Empire at the Cape was accessory before the fact to the Raid!

What, then, is the gist of the case made for Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company? We find the same line taken by 'Imperialist,' by Mr. Rhodes's counsel before the House of Commons Committee, and by his friends generally. It is this, that, though technically illegitimate, the conspiracy at Johannesburg and the preparations for the Raid, parts of course of one scheme, were substantially and morally righteous and patriotic steps intended to free the foreign inhabitants of the Transvaal from oppressive tyranny, and at the same time to win for England a new province.

Let us listen for a moment to the advocates of the other side of the question, of whom perhaps the most strenuous is Mr. F. R. Statham. This book is the work of an advocate, not of a judge; but, nevertheless, it assuredly deserves to be read carefully. The Boers are not always just and wise, and our author's prejudices in domestic British politics are so apparent that English readers will be warned against accepting implicitly his authority in matters with which they are less familiar. The late Mr. W. E. Forster is supposed, for instance, to have earned the undying gratitude of English Dissenters by the passing of the Education Act of 1870! Nevertheless, it will frequently be found that the advocate has on his side of the controversy a very for-

* Cecil Rhodes, p. 77.

midable array of facts. We have given 'Imperialist's' claim that the action of his hero and his Company were due to the purest patriotism and the most high-minded statesmanship. This view has been held by no small number of persons, and it is only fair that we should now give Mr. Statham's contention, which, again, is held by many besides himself. According to this view, Mr. Rhodes and those who really decided the policy of the Company had become deeply impressed with the belief that the days of gambling in 'imaginary gold reefs' were nearly over. Gold was not being profitably worked in Rhodesia, and the very existence of his Company seemed to make a new policy necessary. The plan projected, therefore, was—

'the capture of the Witwatersrand gold fields in the Transvaal, and their subjection to precisely the same autocratic authority and control as that which had been established over the Kimberley diamond mines. For the accomplishment of this end three things were requisite—(1) the gradual amalgamation of Johannesburg mining properties into two or three dominating groups; (2) the establishment of Mr. Rhodes in the eyes of the Government and people of Great Britain as a great Imperialist and patriot; and (3) the formulating of such complaints against the Government of the South African Republic as might justify the British Government in intervening on behalf of the foreign population of the Transvaal. Those who are acquainted with the history of the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines, and with the manner in which they are now used for purposes of financial and political control, have been very well able to comprehend the objects that were being pursued in Johannesburg by the heroes of the Kimberley amalgamation. An amalgamation of the Johannesburg mines on the same lines as the Kimberley amalgamation could not fail, if only the needful power of political administration were also present, to make the heads of the amalgamation absolute masters of the gold industry, and of the bodies and souls of all in any way dependent on it. . . .' *

The object was, in short, to win for a group of capitalists a monopoly of commercial and political power. 'That is 'the answer to be always given to any question as to Mr. 'Rhodes's motives in organising and heading a conspiracy 'against the Transvaal.' In support of this policy Mr. Statham declares that the Uitlander grievances were exaggerated or actually trumped up. The Chartered Company's own charge of 50 per cent. on gold profits far exceeded any duties imposed on mining by the Transvaal Government. No one cared a bit about the franchise, the grievance of exclusion having been greatly lessened by the grant of a

* South Africa as it is, p. 265.

vote at elections to the Second Chamber, the education and language difficulties were immensely exaggerated, and could easily have been settled. President Kruger had already done much to better the position of the Uitlanders, and had Mr. Rhodes not attempted the overthrow of Transvaal independence, all their legitimate grievances would long ago have been removed.

We do not know that it is necessary to go into the motives of those who were planning the Raid and insurrection, or into the general question of the virtues and vices of Boer government. There surely can be little doubt that Boer prejudices and retrograde instincts in many ways made their government, if not incompetent, at least very slow to deal with a situation that had rapidly developed. Ideas of government which might suit a population of Dutch farmers were hardly those upon which an immense mining and foreign population could be satisfactorily managed. Still, as facts have slowly come to light, it is no longer possible to deny that Uitlander grievances have been very highly coloured in order to afford justification or excuse for aggression. After all, a few thousand immigrants who have spent some seven or eight years in a foreign country for the sake of making their fortunes rapidly can hardly at once expect their language to be taught in the State schools, and they themselves to be given a preponderance of electoral power. How long was it before Dutch, the language of the immense majority of British subjects, was put on a footing of equality with English in the Cape Colony? These things can only come about slowly, and of course they are infinitely delayed by circumstances which cast suspicion upon the loyalty of those in whose favour the changes are demanded. Mr. Statham places on too high a pedestal the wisdom and rectitude of his Boer clients. On the other hand, 'Imperialist's' portrait of the young English lad of 1870, carelessly dressed, sitting on an upturned bucket at the diamond fields, supervising his Kaffirs engaged in breaking up the yellow earth, whilst his dreamy eyes in imagination already see the map of Africa painted red from the Cape to Cairo, gives, perhaps, undue prominence to the enthusiastic and patriotic ardour of the great speculator. According to general ideas, patriotism consists in the postponement or sacrifice of selfish interests to the interests of one's country. And even in the pages of 'Imperialist' we find no distinct evidence that the governing impulses of Mr. Rhodes are specially altruistic. We do not doubt that this wish to

'paint the map red' is genuine, that with Mr. Rhodes the greatness of the Empire depends solely upon its 'expansion;' even to a disregard of what benefits are to accrue from annexation, and by what methods it is brought about. Whether this passion for territorial acquisition constitutes a valid claim to 'statesmanship,' it is not our purpose here to inquire: let us return to the particular application of this principle attempted at the expense of the South African Republic.

It was established by the publication of documents and by evidence taken at Capetown that an insurrection at Johannesburg and a raid by Dr. Jameson's troops in support of it had been for some time planned by Mr. Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, Mr. Beit, Colonel Rhodes, and others, and that extensive preparations had been made by the middle of December 1895 for carrying the whole scheme into operation. On Monday, December 23, everything seems to have been arranged. The rising was fixed for the following Saturday at midnight, and orders were sent to Jameson by the secretary of the Chartered Company, acting on behalf of Mr. Rhodes and the Company, to start the same evening at eight o'clock, after having cut the telegraph wires. On the Tuesday Jameson was ordered by the aforesaid secretary, Dr. Harris, not to start till the Saturday, all parties apparently being entirely united, not only as to the general scheme, but as to the way it should be carried out—viz. by a Jameson raid in connexion with a simultaneous rising at Johannesburg. On Thursday, however, only some forty-eight hours before effect was to be given to this plan, the hitch about the flag arose in Johannesburg. Some of the Reformers wanted a republic, some the British flag, and accordingly they that day telegraphed to Jameson to postpone operations till Mr. Rhodes had given his pledge that in the new state of affairs contemplated in the Transvaal the authority of the Imperial Government would not be insisted on. The same day, and to the same effect, orders were sent from Harris to Jameson not to start 'till you hear from us again.' On the Saturday Harris again telegraphs to Jameson that little popularity attaches to the movement at Johannesburg, but that Captain Heany will report to him as to affairs there, and that he (Harris) would like to know what Heany says; and Jameson replies about 5 P.M. asking for definite instructions, and stating that unless he hears definitely to the contrary he will leave the next evening. Next morning—Sunday—Jameson again telegraphs that he will start that evening.

These two telegrams, despatched on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning, were received by Dr. Harris at about 10 A.M. on Sunday, and taken to Mr. Rhodes, who wrote out a reply ordering Dr. Jameson not to move. This message, however, was never sent, owing to interruption of communication by wire; and it does not seem that when, on the Monday, communication was restored, Mr. Rhodes availed himself of it, or took any means whatever to recall Dr. Jameson or to disavow the incursion.*

The hitch at Johannesburg proved to be the ruin of the combination on which the whole plan turned; and the postponement which the flag question rendered advisable was, as the time approached, found in Johannesburg to be eminently desirable on other grounds. Dr. Wolff, a friend of Mr. Hammond, both of them American citizens and active promoters of the movement at Johannesburg, has recently explained to the House of Commons Committee that the Boers at Pretoria were becoming suspicious. They had assembled for their Christmas Nachtmahl, entirely unsuspicious of the treachery which the English, German, and American residents amongst them were planning. Rumours, however, began to get abroad, and the Boers had not dispersed, according to the usual custom, to their houses. Clearly it would be impossible at that moment to surprise and overwhelm Pretoria. We know the rest. There was a raid, but there was no insurrection, and the Boers with great ease took prisoners Dr. Jameson and his whole force, handing them over to the Imperial authorities and their Government, and prosecuting in the Transvaal the leaders of the insurrectionary movement at Johannesburg.

Surely much trouble has been wasted in discussing the question of Mr. Rhodes's responsibility for the Raid. If he forbade its starting when it did (as to which a good deal might be said), that was not because he disapproved of the proceeding, but because the moment appeared to be inopportune and not to warrant success. Nothing can be more certain than that the policy of the Raid and insurrection was Mr. Rhodes's policy. Dr. Jameson and Sir John Willoughby were his agents in carrying it out—though,

* It is clear from Mr. Rhodes's telegrams to London after knowledge of Dr. Jameson's Raid but before the surrender, that his great object was not to recall Dr. Jameson but to get Mr. Chamberlain's support to his, Rhodes's, policy, and to win South Africa for England.

maybe, it was their blunder, not his, that caused the fiasco. In the last few hours of a plot which had been prepared for months it became, possibly, expedient, in Mr. Rhodes's mind, to change the dates and times fixed for firing the train which he and others had so carefully laid. Dr. Jameson did not wish to postpone the incursion for more than a day after the date originally named. This at most seems to be the distinction to be drawn between the case of Mr. Rhodes and the case of Dr. Jameson.

As regards the judgement of the public, then, in the matter of complicity both stand on very similar ground. If the policy pursued was an immoral and a dishonourable one, public condemnation, whatever may be the case as to legal penalties, will fall more heavily upon the leader than upon the follower. Dr. Jameson was the instrument of Mr. Rhodes and the servant of the Chartered Company. We cannot, indeed, think that a man in the high position of administrator to a company endowed by the State with such high prerogatives should have no sense of responsibility beyond that of agent to a commercial undertaking and personal loyalty to its chief. But the position of Mr. Rhodes was a very different and a much higher one. He was a Privy Councillor of the Queen, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, owing responsibility to the Empire at large, and confidence to the Queen's representative at the Cape and to her Secretary of State in London. He was associated with colleagues who were entitled to share his responsibilities in matters affecting the welfare of Cape Colony. He had fellow directors on the Board of the Chartered Company. Now all these persons were grossly deceived. The plot was hatched behind their backs. His confidants were chosen amongst those alone whose interests seemed to make it certain that personal loyalty to him and to the Company would outweigh every other consideration. To Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, to Mr. Beit, to Colonel Willoughby, to the American and English Reformers at Johannesburg, were revealed the schemes carefully concealed from Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Schreiner, from Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Office, from the Duke of Fife and the Duke of Abercorn. To these and others Mr. Rhodes paid the compliment of distrust. As distrusted they were kept very effectually in the dark.

Mr. Rhodes, it will be remembered, arrived in England a few weeks after the failure of his plans; and in February 1896 had a lengthy conversation with Mr. Chamberlain, who

almost immediately afterwards—viz. on February 13—stated in the House of Commons that 'to the best of his knowledge 'and belief everybody—Mr. Rhodes, the Chartered Company, 'the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, and the High 'Commissioner—were all equally ignorant of the intention 'or action of Dr. Jamesón; and that belief he expressed to 'the House after having carefully examined all the state-'ments of all the parties concerned.' Comment is unnecessary. The subsequent discovery of telegrams has enabled Mr. Chamberlain and the public to appraise at their true value the statements of some at least 'of the parties 'concerned.'

The consequences resulting from the disclosure of Mr. Rhodes's responsibility for this aggression upon the South African Republic were inevitable. The Boers felt that they had escaped an imminent danger at the hands of the late Prime Minister of the Cape; and the ignorant and thoughtless favour extended in some quarters to his action and to that of his associates in the plot had the worst possible effect in heightening Boer suspicions and distrust. It was surely, then, the part of our statesmen, in and out of office, and of the responsible portion of our press, to do their best to restore the shaken confidence in our national good faith. To treat the events of December and January 1895–96 as the unfortunate collapse of the patriotic policy of a great statesman, was to do violence to every sentiment of morality in politics, and to postpone the restoration of honourable confidence between the South African Republic and the Empire.

Mr. Chamberlain very wisely recognised from the first that it was far more important in the interests of South Africa to reconcile to each other British and Dutch, violently estranged by these proceedings, than to bring home punishment even to those who deserved it. Mr. Rhodes's ministry fell, of course, at once, and the resignation of his directorship of the Chartered Company was accepted by his fellow-directors five months later; but whether he really thereupon lost his influence in Rhodesia as completely as Mr. Chamberlain at the time believed may be doubted. Probably President Kruger imagined that Mr. Rhodes's return to Rhodesia uncensured by the Government at home and loudly applauded by his friends might appear to those on the spot to resemble an informal return to the old state of things. And though Lord Grey had taken Dr. Jameson's place, and the command of the Chartered Company's forces had been entrusted to Imperial authorities, it can hardly be sup-

posed that Mr. Rhodes's presence and close association with the conduct of affairs can have had a quieting effect on the aroused suspicions and fears of the Transvaal Government.

The inevitable consequences of mutual distrust and suspicion followed the exposure of the long-hatched schemes of the Chartered Company against the Transvaal. It could not but be that Boer opinion, however mistakenly, largely attributed the danger which their State had escaped to the silent approval, if not to the actual machination, of the British Government. Mr. Chamberlain's endeavour was to reconcile not merely the Transvaal with the Imperial Government, but English and Dutch sentiment throughout the whole of South Africa, and by his success in this direction his administration of South African affairs will ultimately be judged. The difficulties were great. Both on the ultra-Boer and ultra-British side were hot-headed and unreasonable men. Very foolish speeches were made on one side, and complained of on the other. At first almost every movement of British troops near the Transvaal frontier excited Boer suspicion; and, on the other hand, Englishmen have been foolish enough to complain bitterly against the Transvaal Government for fortifying their own capital, so lately threatened by a treacherous surprise. It is an unfortunate necessity of modern diplomacy that foolish, ill-conditioned language, which had much better be ignored altogether, often becomes the subject of official correspondence, and is duly recorded and published in our Blue Books. The chief task, therefore, of Mr. Chamberlain and of President Kruger was to check the intemperate folly of their own countrymen. There is no doubt whatever that President Kruger and the Transvaal Government earnestly desire the maintenance of amicable relations with Great Britain. But, on the other hand, it is probable enough that many of the Boers, with an exaggerated and ridiculous belief in their military power, imagine that they are capable of inflicting defeat on British arms and of rejecting the suzerainty of the Crown. Chauvinism of this kind is of course considered true patriotism amongst the noisy and irresponsible portion of a community naturally rendered indignant by the aggression of which it had so nearly been the victim. Our own Government is equally desirous of peace, but with us also are hot-headed men who would rejoice in a rupture with the Transvaal which would afford an opportunity of bringing back credit (as they are pleased to call it) to British arms. Nothing could be worse for

the interests of both States, and for the whole of South Africa, than war. How far, under certain circumstances, it might suit the interests of individuals is another matter. Men's passions seemed at one time to make war possible, and it is difficult to resist the belief that, as regards the Chartered Company and its allies, there were, not many months ago, powerful influences at work which did not make for peace.

Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger had, therefore, to stand firm against the noisy clamour of British and Boer 'Jingoism.' What was required between the two Governments was a conciliatory spirit and a conciliatory tone. Assuredly Mr. Chamberlain has never shown the slightest slackness in insisting to the very full upon British rights against the Transvaal, yet he has been fiercely criticised for the humble attitude he is said to have assumed towards the Boer President! According to these critics, Mr. Chamberlain should have discharged ultimatum after ultimatum against the Transvaal Government. Perhaps, having regard to this unfortunate state of feeling in the two countries, it is not strange that there should creep into the despatches an occasional acerbity on the one side and the other which it is certain that the subject matter of the correspondence does not warrant. So the utterly preposterous claim of damages made by the Transvaal Government for the Raid can only be regarded as a sort of 'playing to the gallery'—as a sop thrown to quiet insensate clamour.

The despatches prove that on both sides the two Governments are sincerely anxious at the present time to maintain unchanged the political relations between the Empire and the Transvaal established by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884. In express terms each calls upon the other for the strictest observance of all the provisions of those treaties. Sometimes, indeed, a different interpretation of these provisions is upheld on the one side and the other; but no greater differences have arisen than frequently occur in the diplomatic correspondence of powers which are upon the most amicable terms. We have guaranteed to the Transvaal State (in the later convention called the South African Republic) 'complete self-government subject to the 'suzerainty of her Majesty' upon certain conditions. By the Convention of 1884 new conditions or provisions far more favourable to the Republic were substituted for those of 1881. By that of 1881, for instance, the Imperial Government reserved complete control of the external

relations of the Transvaal, whose diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers was to be carried on through her Majesty's diplomatic officers. By that of 1884, the only restriction upon its foreign relations was contained in Art. IV., which runs as follows:

'The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State . . . until the same has been approved by her Majesty the Queen. Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if her Majesty's Government shall not within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately on its completion) have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.'

Art. XIII. prevents the Transvaal from imposing differential duties on goods coming from Great Britain or her colonies. Art. XIV. provides that all persons, other than natives, conforming

'themselves to the laws of the South African Republic shall have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; they shall be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, &c.; to carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents . . . ; and they are not to be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which might be imposed upon citizens of the Republic.'

Thus, whilst Imperial rights are reserved by the retention of the suzerainty and by Art. IV., Art. XIV. is the great charter of the Uitlanders, British and foreign. On the other hand, subject to these conditions, 'complete self-'government' is the guaranteed right of the Republic.

When last December the new British agent arrived at Pretoria he was at once met with a difficulty. A section of British residents, 'holding extreme views as to the rights 'and positions of British subjects in the Republic,' refused to take part in the presentation of a general address of welcome because they wished to present one of their own which prominently asserted 'the supremacy of the Empire 'in that part of the world.' This might well seem to the Boers to justify their suspicion that their guaranteed self-government would receive but little respect from supreme Imperial authority, and the British agent therefore most properly declined to receive the address. Mr. Chamberlain, in approving Mr. Greene's conduct, observed that what was probably meant was the 'maintenance of the paramount

'interests of the Empire in that part of the world,' a form of expression which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, expressed the facts of the case.

Important British interests will of course be maintained by the Imperial Government in South Africa as elsewhere. But the frequently repeated assertion that 'Great Britain is 'the paramount power of South Africa' does not at all accurately represent the facts of the case. In India, for example, British sovereignty is 'paramount.' In South Africa, Great Britain is one of several powers, German, Portuguese, and Orange Free State, internationally on an equal footing with Great Britain; whilst with the South African Republic her rights are regulated by treaty. There is not the slightest necessity, in order to protect British interests, to appear to arrogate to ourselves rights over other powers which assuredly they are entitled to dispute, and which apparently convey to the Boers a doubt as to our intention to observe in its full purport their own right to self-government.

In several respects the Transvaal Government has exceeded its rights under the conventions. It has endeavoured, independently of Imperial authority, to make treaties for the mutual extradition of criminals with Holland and with Portugal, and it has entered into the Geneva Convention for the due observances of humanity in war. Again, it was not unnatural that the Boer Government, after the dangers that this State had experienced from foreigners, should have recourse to what Irishmen would denounce as coercion laws—Acts to control the press, to expel dangerous aliens, to protect themselves by means of passports and police regulations against an unchecked influx of undesirable immigrants. Mr. Chamberlain has rightly protested with vigour, and ultimately with success, against these infractions of Imperial rights and of the Uitlander charter. The treaties were doubtless very meritorious ones in themselves, but none the less they would have constituted inconvenient precedents had they escaped without protest. The Uitlanders are by Section XIV. to be free as to their movements from all legal restrictions not imposed upon the Boers themselves. In his despatches of March 6, 1897, Mr. Chamberlain brings discussion on these matters to an end by representing to President Kruger that 'the Republic 'had failed to give effect in practice to the intention so 'frequently expressed in public and official utterances of 'upholding the Convention on the part of the Republic and

'of maintaining that good understanding with her Majesty's 'Government which is so necessary in the interests of South 'Africa.' Mr. Chamberlain carries the whole of his countrymen with him in insisting upon the due observance by the Transvaal of the provisions of the Convention. The Boer infractions were not, indeed, to be weighed in the balance with the injuries committed against Boer rights under the same Convention a year and a half ago. But Mr. Chamberlain had denounced those wrongs, and some of the perpetrators of them had been brought to justice, and he is now fully entitled to claim from the Boers the full performance of their side of the bargain. It is pleasant to be able also to congratulate President Kruger upon his success in prevailing upon his countrymen to yield when they were in the wrong, not by any means always an easy task to men of either British or Dutch blood, as we think both British and Dutch negotiators might more often bear in mind.

When we cast our eyes back over the events of the last two years, and consider the official correspondence between the two Governments, it seems utterly impossible that any rupture of the peaceful relations between them should arise, unless, indeed, either of them is secretly anxious for war. The discussions disclosed by the Blue Books might perhaps be tortured into a pretext, but can by no possibility afford real cause for war. The Imperial Government may be quite right—we think it is—to strengthen the British force in Cape Colony, since the South African Republic thinks it advisable largely to increase its own military power. President Kruger and his friends may naturally think that greater readiness on their part, and a stronger military position at Pretoria a year and a half ago, would have insured them against the aggression of their neighbours. This action is due to distrust, and every effort should be made on our side when military measures are taken to soothe the not unnatural suspicions they may create. If war should break out, whatever may be its real ground or nominal pretext, the two powers will be in fact contending for and against the independence of the South African Republic. They will not really be fighting because some Uitlander has been refused a passport, or because an escaped criminal has been sent back to Portugal for trial. Our Government cannot reiterate too often its fixed determination to respect, and to make its servants respect, the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, and it cannot too clearly disown all sympathy with those

who would by the sheer exercise of British power, right or wrong, overwhelm the Republic, and whatever else may stand in its way, till the map is painted red from Cape-town to Cairo. That is the great end, we are told, of Mr. Rhodes's policy. Its patriotism or its wisdom we do not here discuss; we only know that it will be an eternal disgrace to this country if it is accomplished by means of fraud, or by a violent trampling on the rights of others and on our own most solemn pledges.

The excellent appointment of Sir Alfred Milner as Lord Rosmead's successor is evidence of the determination of the Government to combine conciliatory methods and respect for the rights of others with the maintenance of Imperial authority. We shall be greatly surprised if, as time goes on, the influence of the new Governor, and the universal confidence in his ability and singleness of aim, do not produce the happiest results. Already, during the last few weeks, the general tone both at home and in South Africa has improved. It is not merely that the Republic has yielded to the steady pressure of Mr. Chamberlain. President Kruger has certainly, in several matters, shown an admirable spirit of courtesy and conciliation, and we hope that in the speeches of our own politicians due recognition of this behaviour will be made. To release Messrs. Sampson and Davies, and to appoint a holiday and a general observance of the Queen's Jubilee, were very graceful acts on his part. General Joubert attended at the great banquet given at Johannesburg in honour of her Majesty, and the cordial and friendly tone of the speech made on behalf of the President, and of those made by eminent citizens of the Republic, left nothing to be desired. There is no substantial cause of quarrel between the two States, and leading men in both countries may do much, and ought to do their best, to diminish the suspicious and antagonistic spirit in which the danger of a rupture lies.

The House of Commons has imposed upon its Committee the duty of inquiring into the administration of the Chartered Company, but that branch of the investigation has not yet been entered upon, and can hardly now be seriously undertaken before February next. Having regard to the dilatory and unsatisfactory character of the proceedings of this Committee so far, the Government and the House of Commons may well doubt the expediency of prolonging its operations to another session. Yet investigation is urgently required. Rumours and positive statements made by individuals as to

the habitual gross ill treatment of natives have obtained a hearing and require to be thoroughly sifted. What is the truth as to the employment of forced labour in the mining operations of the Chartered and other companies? On the threshold of an official inquiry into these matters, it would hardly be right to discuss them here; for it may be assumed that even if further investigation by the Committee is abandoned, the Government will insist either by sending out a strong commission to take evidence on the spot or in some other way on probing to the bottom allegations of continuing misconduct, odious in itself and deeply discrediting to the British name.

Mr. Chamberlain's telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson of December 31, 1895, has been already quoted. It *has* been proved that the whole authority of the Chartered Company in South Africa was wielded by Mr. Rhodes, and that Mr. Rhodes was not only privy to, but was the mainspring of, the great plot against the South African Republic. How then about the 'demand that the Charter should be 'revoked and the Corporation dissolved'? Here it is evident that a very great deal has to be taken into consideration beyond the misbehaviour of the Chartered Company and its officials. Throughout the whole inquiry no more valuable evidence was given than that of Mr. Schreiner, and Mr. Schreiner declared himself very decidedly against any revocation of the Charter. There should be left to it its private and proprietary rights, its rights over its officials, to make appointments, &c.; 'but there should be on the spot a high 'Imperial officer, paid by the Empire, and not paid at all by 'the Company, who should be in the position of practically 'controlling the whole situation. . . . For the future, if a 'strong, a thoroughly strong man were appointed by the 'Imperial Government, it would give enormous satisfaction 'in South Africa.' Either in this way or in some other, means must be found to prevent the complete subjection of a corporation enjoying wide political powers to those who are concerned only in its commercial and financial interests.

We suppose it is inevitable that public opinion should be for the moment chiefly interested in the many personal questions which the investigations of the House of Commons Committee have raised. For our part we entirely accept, and we believe the vast majority of the public entirely accepts, the explicit statements made by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Selborne as to their knowledge and their absence of knowledge of what was passing in South Africa. There

is nothing in any evidence that has been produced to weaken in any degree the credit attaching to their testimony. It would have been well indeed if they, and indeed others also, had resented with greater warmth the deceptions which had been practised upon them, surely sufficiently apparent after the publication of the Cape Blue Book. Doubtless they considered that as an investigation was to be held in London, it was not for them to prejudge the trial they had asked for. Amongst his colleagues of the Board no one seems to have been seriously angry with the managing director, though a moment's passing annoyance was displayed by the Duke of Fife's reference to 'this 'miserable business.'

Amongst the mere instruments of Mr. Rhodes, no wise man would think of looking for any display of resentment. 'Imperialist' has shown us the light in which they regard him. How far or how little he trusted with his complete confidence the minor actors in the plot is uncertain and is of little public importance. What is important is that public opinion should vigorously condemn the whole project in its conception, conduct, and attempted execution. To this project, dishonourable as it was, it was intended to make the nation a party. Happily that intention has been frustrated. It now behoves our Government to take measures to prevent in future the danger which reckless ambition may cause to the following of a wise and just policy, and to the maintenance of the good faith and the good name of the nation.

No. CCCLXXXII. will be published in October.

Messrs.

Archibald Constable & Co.'s

QUARTERLY LIST

JULY 1897

New Poems

By FRANCIS THOMPSON

Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net.

"The first thing to be done, and by far the most important, is to recognise and declare that we are here face to face with a poet of the first order, a man of imagination all compact, a seer and singer of rare genius. It is in the sheer essentials of poetry that Mr. Thompson is rich."—*Daily Chronicle.*

"There is in these new Poems a wider outlook, a greater breadth of sympathy than were discovered in their predecessors."—*Globe.*

"A volume of poetry has not appeared in the Queen's reign more authentic in greatness of vision and utterance than this book. It confers a literary distinction upon the 60th year of the Victorian Era, and it gives the *annus mirabilis* yet a new title to memory."—*Newcastle Daily Chronicle.*

"A true poet. . . . At any rate here unquestionably is a new poet, a wielder of beautiful words, a lover of beautiful things."—I. ZANGWILL, in the *Cosmopolitan*, Sept., 1895.

"At least one book of poetry has been published this year that we can hand on confidently to other generations. It is not incautious to prophesy that Mr. Francis Thompson's poems will last."—*Sketch.*

"Mr. Thompson's new volume will be welcomed by all students and lovers of the more ambitious forms of poetry."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"Mr. Thompson's is the essential poetry of essential Christianity."—*Academy.*

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS

WESTMINSTER S.W.

"The Game of Polo"

By T. F. DALE

("*Stoneclink*" *of* "*The Field*")

Containing a large number of full-page sepia plates, illustrative of celebrated ponies, many text illustrations by LILLIAN SMYTHE, CUTHBERT BRADLEY, and CRAWFORD WOOD; and a Photogravure Portrait of Mr. JOHN WATSON.

Demy 8vo. One Guinea net.

"Likely to rank as the standard work on the subject."—*Morning Post.*

"What the author does not know about it is not knowledge."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"Will doubtless be of great use to beginners."—*Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic.*

"A charming addition to the library of those who are devoted to the game."—*The Globe.*

With Plumer in Matabeleland

By FRANK W. SYKES

With numerous Illustrations in the text, and 35 *Full-page Plates and Two Maps. Demy 8vo,* 15*s. net.*

In this book the author narrates the day-to-day experiences of a trooper in the force under the command of Colonel Plumer, during the Matabele Campaign. In describing the various engagements, Mr. Sykes has had the assistance of officers engaged with other troops than his own, so that the descriptions of the attack on Thabas Amamba, the storming of Sikombo's stronghold, Lang's fight at "the graveyard," etc., are vivid and accurate. The illustrations, besides giving a unique representation of the country, comprise also portraits of the leading rebel chiefs, and of a large number of officers and others engaged in various capacities on behalf of the Chartered Company, not excepting Lieut.-General Sir F. Carrington, Colonel Plumer, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. and Mrs. Colenbrander, the renowned John Grootboom and Father Barthélmy.

"Operations of the Force during the Rebellion of 1896 are described in great detail, and in a very interesting fashion."—*Financial Times.*

"Mr Sykes served as a trooper in the M R F., and depicts with much point and piquancy the life of the rank and file of that corps as it presented itself to him throughout the campaign. Still more delightful is the racy vein in which the humours of the situation are recounted. Mr. Sykes' narrative of 'Massacres and Escapes' is a noble record. Many incidents not hitherto mentioned of pluck and heroism are alluded to. *His book is one of the best of its class we have yet had the pleasure of reviewing.*"—*South Africa.*

"The chapter on the Religion of the Matabele is well worth reading, so from first page to last is Mr. Sykes' book."—*Daily News.*

"The best illustrated and most generally interesting volume. . . . Frank, catholic, fearless, and generous. I congratulate him, and also his assistants on a notable volume."—*African Critic.*

Constable's Six Shilling Novels

In the Tideway

By FLORA ANNIE STEEL, *Author of "Miss Stuart's Legacy," "On the Face of the Waters," etc.*

"Wonderfully bright and lively both in dialogue and incidents."—*Scotsman.*

"Admirably written."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"The story is beyond question powerful. The characters are life-like and the dialogue is bright and natural."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"As it is, the book is a sheer triumph of skill, one degree perhaps less valuable than a fully conceived presentation of the actual, but none the less admirable within its limits. There is care shown in every character. . . . But the real art, perhaps, lies less in the sequence of events or the portrayal of character, than in just this subtle suggestion everywhere of the abiding causeless mystery of land and sea."—*Academy.*

Dracula

By BRAM STOKER, *Author of "The Shoulder of Shasta," "The Watter's Mou'," etc.*

"In seeking a parallel to *this weird, powerful, and horrible story*, our mind reverts to such tales as 'The Mysteries of Udolpho,' 'Frankenstein,' 'Wuthering Heights,' 'The Fall of the House of Usher,' and 'Marjery of Quether.' But 'Dracula' is even more *appalling in its gloomy fascination* than any one of these."—*The Daily Mail.*

"'Dracula' is one of the most weird and spirit-quelling romances which have appeared for years. . . . The reader hurries on breathless from the first page to the last, afraid to miss a single word, lest the subtle and complicated chain of evidence should be broken. . . . And though the plot involves enough and to spare of bloodshed, it never becomes revolting, because the spiritual mystery of evil continually surmounts the physical horror."—*The Daily Telegraph.*

"It would be difficult to meet in any recent novel with finer pages of descriptive writing."—*The Morning Post.*

"The story is woven together in a masterly fashion. Most readers will peruse it with intense interest throughout. The work from a literary point of view is of the highest character."—*Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, May 30, 1897.

"It is horrid and creepy to the last degree. It is also excellent, and one of the best things in the supernatural line that we have been lucky enough to hit upon. . . . Having once got through the first half-dozen pages, every one will finish the rest in as few sittings as possible. . . . This is a book to revel in. We did it ourselves, and we are not ashamed to say so."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, June 1, 1897.

The Folly of Pen Harrington

By JULIAN STURGIS.

"The story as a whole is decidedly to be recommended as light and lively reading."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"The book is very pleasant reading indeed"—*Glasgow Herald.*

"The story is smartly written."—*Daily Graphic.*

"Bright, piquant, and thoroughly entertaining. Mr Sturgis has done nothing better."—*The World.*

"Written with all the vigour and dash of the accomplished novelist, and the character of Pen Harrington is well and impressibly drawn."—*Whitehall Review.*

Sister Jane

By "UNCLE REMUS."

"Of all Mr. Harris's recent stories 'Sister Jane' is the best."—*Academy.*

Green Fire: A Story of the Western Islands

By FIONA MACLEOD, *Author of "The Sin Eater," "Pharais," "The Mountain Lovers," etc.*

"There are few in whose hands the pure threads have been so skilfully and delicately woven as they have in Fiona Macleod's."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

The Amazing Marriage

By GEORGE MEREDITH.
Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Tragic Comedians

By GEORGE MEREDITH.
Crown 8vo. 6s.

AN INDIAN STORY

His Majesty's Greatest Subject

A NOVEL. By S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

"Mr. Thorburn interests us immensely in his story on his theories, and in the daring romance of his situations."—*Bombay Gazette.*

"A very romantic and interesting story."—*Scotsman.*

"Mr. Thorburn may be congratulated . . . a daring departure from the ways of story writers."—*Glasgow Herald.*

Chin-Chin-Wa

By CHARLES HANNAN, F.R.G.S. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

"Chin-Chin-Wa is a cleverly realised study of an Englishman who turns Chinaman."—*Daily Chronicle.*

"Delightful and dramatic."—*British Review.*

A Sturdy Beggar and Lady Bramber's Ghost

TWO STORIES BY CHARLES CHARRINGTON. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

"Two stories full of merit."—*Western Mail.*

"An original turn of thought, and a vivacious style."—*The Globe.*

A Writer of Fiction

A NOVEL. By CLIVE HOLLAND.

Author of "My Japanese Wife." *Cloth extra, crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.*

"The volume will bear careful reading, and will enhance the author's reputation."—*Black and White.*

"A very pathetic little tale. 'A Writer of Fiction' is excellent in tone, and moreover well constructed and well written."—*Whitehall Review.*

"It is moving in its unvarnished simplicity, and very cleverly told. A real human document written with a living touch that takes hold of one, and well-nigh secures the condonation of a passion if misplaced, so absorbing and sincere as to leave the sinner without a thought of remorse or regret."—*Morning Post.*

The Love of an Obsolete Woman

CHRONICLED BY HERSELF. Cloth extra, 2s. 6d

"The suppressed fire, the pregnant brevity, the still acute misery, all tell that in these pages a human soul is written down."—*Aberdeen Free Press.*

"The story of the main episode in a human life is told in these pages with a convincing simplicity, directness, and power, such as we rarely find. . . . We cannot think of what we have read as a fiction: it reads like a piece of sincere autobiography, as absolutely frank as that of Samuel Pepys; and though it is constructed with more art—a very delicate art—we have no consciousness of this as we read, only when we lay the volume aside and begin to think about it. . . . In all it aims at the story is absolutely perfect."—*Birmingham Daily Post.*

"We may frankly say that this little volume is quite the strongest that has recently been written on the burning question of the relations of the sexes."—*Manchester Guardian.*

Madge o' the Pool

By WILLIAM SHARP. Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

"Excellent."—*Athenæum.*

"It would be hard to point to anything more brilliant or more satisfactory amongst the writers of Mr. Sharp's generation."—*Glasgow Herald.* "Of unusual merit."—*Daily Mail.*

"Fresh and notable work."—*The Globe.* "Really excellent work."—*Manchester Guardian.*

Hans van Donder. A Romance of Boer Life

By CHARLES MONTAGUE, *Author of "The Vigil."* *Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.*

"Mr. Montague has written another charming romance."—*Scotsman.*

"Admirably told. The descriptions of Big Game Shooting are highly exciting."—*Glasgow Herald.*

Torriba

By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

"Torriba is unquestionably bold in treatment and well written."—*Globe.*

A Full Confession

By F. C. PHILIPS. 1s. net.

"A delightful hour and a half's reading."—*Liverpool Review.*

"A very entertaining novelette."—*Morning Post.*

Price £2 2s. net.

English Illustration

"THE SIXTIES": 1855–70

By GLEESON WHITE

With Numerous Illustrations by

H. H. ARMSTEAD, R.A.; SIR E. BURNE-JONES; FORD MADOX BROWN; BIRKET FOSTER; PAUL GRAY; A. BOYD HOUGHTON; ARTHUR HUGHES; CHARLES KEENE; M. J. LAWLESS; LORD LEIGHTON, *P.*R.A.; G. DU MAURIER; SIR J. E. MILLAIS, *P.*R.A.; T. MORTEN; J. W. NORTH; E. J. POYNTER, R.A.; G. J. PINWELL; D. G. ROSSETTI; WILLIAM SMALL; FREDERICK SANDYS; J. McNEILL WHISTLER; J. D. WATSON; FREDERICK WALKER, A.R.A.; and others.

"This compilation has been put together by Mr. Gleeson White with infinite labour and artistic discrimination."—*Scotsman.*

"Mr. Gleeson White has done his work well. . . . It is a book of beauty in one of its aspects, and an instructive and well-written critical treatise in the other."—*Daily News.*

"In this very handsome volume Mr. Gleeson White has given us what is practically an exhaustive account of the admirable results obtained by designers and wood-engravers during the eventful years that lie between say 1855 and 1870. . . . Simply invaluable to all students and collectors. . . ."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"A very handsome and interesting volume. . . . A word of congratulation is due to the publishers for the admirable get-up of this, which is so far the handsomest book of the spring season."—*Liverpool Daily Post.*

"It is distinctly agreeable to come across a book of such genuine artistic interest and value, a book so splendidly produced as 'English Illustration.' Every effort has evidently been made to render the work thoroughly artistic in all its details."—*Northern Whig, Belfast.*

"It has been reserved for Mr. Gleeson White to lay the sure foundation of a righteous appreciation. When the historian and ultimate critic arrives, he will find all the matter to his hand in this sumptuous volume, which Messrs. Constable have printed with their familiar mastery, and to which have been added the glories of hand-made paper and beautiful binding. With characteristic modesty Mr. Gleeson White would claim but the cataloguer's place, and would write himself down only the guide to those who must follow. Certainly in the first instance the volume is a monument of painstaking research. . . . But a careful reading conveys the sense that the historians' and critics' parts belong not less to Mr. Gleeson White. Out of his abounding appreciation and wide knowledge, extending over many years, he has gone far to definitely fix the places of the artists themselves. The book, in short, must be in the hands of all who care for English Art. Even to those to whom the names on its title-page are nothing but names, will find it a surprising picture book, an album, if you will, to lay upon the table, but an album rich in suggestion and of singular and subtle charm."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"We recognise the magnitude of the task undertaken by Mr. Gleeson White, as well as the care, patience, and learning that he has bestowed upon its adequate execution. For the printing, binding, arrangement of illustrations, and spacing of pages, we have nothing but praise to offer."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"Mr. Gleeson White has written a work worthy of a foremost place among the standard reference books on matters artistic. Messrs. Constable have produced the book in a truly mptuous manner."—*Publishers' Circular.*

Farthest North

By FRIDTJOF NANSEN

2 Vols. Large Demy 8vo. £2 2s. net.

"A masterpiece of story telling."—*Times.*

"A book for everybody who loves a story of romance and adventure."—*Westminster Gazette.*

"The genius of Defoe could scarcely contrive a more absorbing story than we have in the second volume of the book."—*Spectator.*

Dr. Nansen's Great Book contains over 100 Full-page Illustrations, a large number of Text Illustrations, sixteen Coloured Plates, four Large Maps, two Photogravure Plates, and an Etched Portrait.

The Alps from End to End

By Sir WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY

With 100 Full-page Illustrations by A. D. M'CORMICK.

Second Edition. Large 8vo, half buckram, gilt top, 21s. net.

Ice-Bound on Kolguev

A Chapter in the Exploration of Arctic Europe

By AUBYN TREVOR-BATTYE

B.A., F.L.S., F.Z.S., Etc.

Large 8vo, 21s. net.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS BY

J. T. NETTLESHIP, CHARLES WHYMPER, AND THE AUTHOR.

The Key of the Pacific:

The Nicaragua Canal

By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN, F.R.G.S.

Large Demy 8vo, with Maps and Illustrations, 21s. net.

The Story of an African Crisis

By F. E. GARRETT, the Editor of the *Cape Times.*

The most important book on the recent JAMESON RAID, and the Political Attitude of the TRANSVAAL.

Crown 8*vo*, 3*s.* 6*d.*

"Just the thing that was wanted to enable the ordinary business man to get in a few hours' reading a thorough grip of the events in a history-making episode."—*Financial News.*

"Requires and deserves the most careful perusal."—*South Africa.*

"A brilliant piece of political exposition."—*African Critic.*

"We can do no better than recommend every one to read the book. . . . Most novels would come in a poor second."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

Imperial Defence

By Sir CHARLES DILKE and SPENSER WILKINSON

New and Revised Edition. 2*s.* 6*d.*

"To urge our countrymen to prepare, whilst there is yet time, for a defence that is required alike by interest, honour, and duty, and by the best traditions of the nation's history."—*Daily Mail.*

The Nation's Awakening

By SPENSER WILKINSON

Crown 8*vo*, *cloth*, 3*s.* 6*d.*

"Mr. Wilkinson's programme is not lacking in ambition, . . . his pages contain many pregnant suggestions, and much food for reflection."—*The Times.*

The Brain of an Army

A Popular Account of the German General Staff

By SPENSER WILKINSON

New Edition, with Letters from COUNT MOLTKE *and* LORD ROBERTS. *With Three Plans. Crown* 8*vo*, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Volunteers and the National Defence

By SPENSER WILKINSON

FORMERLY CAPTAIN 20TH LANCASHIRE R.V.

Author of "The Brain of an Army." Crown 8*vo*, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Problems of the Far East

JAPAN—KOREA—CHINA

New and Cheaper Edition, Revised and brought up to date, with a New Chapter on the late War in the East.

By the RT. HON. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P.

Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; Author of "Russia in Central Asia" and "Persia." With numerous Illustrations and Maps. Extra Crown 8*vo*, 7*s.* 6*d.*

"A valuable addition to the literature dealing with the problems of the Far East."—*Morning Post.*

The Preaching of Islam

By T. W. ARNOLD, B.A. *With 2 Maps. Demy 8vo, 12s.*

"One of the most elaborate and careful accounts of the spread of Mahomedanism that we remember to have seen in any language."—*The Times.*

"This book was wanted. . . . There has been no English book on Mahometanism printed since the well-known Dictionary, that is so informing and suggestive as this of Mr. Arnold's."—*Manchester Guardian.*

The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India

By WILLIAM CROOKE

With numerous Full-page Plates. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.

"The book is in every respect an admirable one, full of insight and knowledge at first hand."—*Times.*

A BOOK FOR DANTE STUDENTS.

The Chronicle of Villani

TRANSLATED BY ROSE E. SELFE. EDITED BY THE REV. P. H. WICKSTEED

Crown 8vo, 6s.

"We welcome the book not only as a real help to students of Dante, but as revealing to all English readers the leading characteristics of one of the most fascinating and life-like of mediæval chronicles. . . . Mr. Wicksteed's introduction is brief, sober, competent, and workmanlike."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"There are many other fascinating passages in this work, which we consider on its own merits one of high historical value, and as an aid to the clearer understanding of the text of Dante's divine masterpiece absolutely indispensable."—*Leeds Mercury.*

"Perhaps no one book is so important to the student of Dante as the chronicle of his contemporary Villani."—*Athenæum.*

English Schools. 1546–1548

By A. F. LEACH, M.A., F.S.A.,

Late Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, Assistant Charity Commissioner.

Demy 8vo, 12s.

"A very remarkable contribution to the history of secondary education in England, not less novel in its conclusions than important in the documentary evidence adduced to sustain them."—*The Times.*

"A valuable contribution to our knowledge of the growth of education in England."—*Leeds Mercury.*

"A very interesting book."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"One of those books that, as soon as they are written, are regarded by the student as indispensable."—*Spectator.*

"This is the most valuable book on the history of English education that has seen the light for many a long year."—*Journal of Education.*

The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great

NEW AND REVISED EDITION. WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

By J. W. McCRINDLE.

Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 10s. 6d. net.

The Faerie Queene. By EDMUND SPENSER

Edited from the Original Editions of 1590 and 1596. With Introduction and Glossary. By KATE M. WARREN. Book I. 1*s.* 6*d.* net. Book II *now ready.* [To be completed in six volumes.] Also in cloth extra, gilt. With Frontispiece.

"An excellent reading book for students of English literature in schools; it is by no means merely an educational work, but will suit the purposes of a large number of readers who desire to be acquainted with the great allegory merely as lovers of poetry."—*Scotsman.*

"We can bear testimony to the ability and success with which Miss Warren has edited this volume."—*Birmingham Daily Post.*

The True Grasses. By EDUARD HACKEL

Demy 8vo, price 10s. 6d. net.

Translated from "Die Natürlichen Pflansenfamilien" by F. LAMSON-SCRIBNER, of the University of Tennessee, U.S.A., and E. A. SOUTHWORTH.

With over Ninety Illustrations and Diagrams and a Voluminous Glossary of Technical Terms.

Botanical Microtechnique

A Handbook of Methods for the Preparation, Staining, and Microscopical Investigation of Vegetable Structures.

By DR. A. ZIMMERMANN, *Privat-docent in the University of Tübingen.*

Demy 8vo, price 12s. net.

Translated from the German by JAMES ELLIS HUMPHREY, S.D.

With over Sixty Illustrations and Diagrams.

Extract from a letter received from Mr. C. B. CLARKE, F.R.S., F.G.S., Past President of the Linnean Society and formerly of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta:—

"Zimmermann's 'Microtechnique' is one of the most esteemed handbooks for 'methods,' and is thoroughly up to the day."

"Hackel, as a systematist, is surpassed by no living German."

"No competent person would commence any systematic work on Grasses without Hackel's work on his table."

Whitman. A Study. By JOHN BURROUGHS

12*mo. Cloth gilt,* 6*s. net.*

"Altogether the most complete, the most sympathetic, and the most penetrating estimate of Walt Whitman that has yet been written."—*Daily Mail.*

Problems of Modern Democracy

By EDWIN LAURENCE GODKIN. *Crown 8vo,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

"The book ranks with Mr. Lecky's recent volumes."—*National Review.*

"The most noteworthy book on Democracy since Mr. Lecky's."—*Glasgow Evening News.*

Reflections and Comments

By EDWIN LAURENCE GODKIN. *Crown 8vo,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

"Mr. Godkin's book forms an excellent example of the best periodical literature of his country and time."—*The Daily News.*

An Essay on Comedy and the Uses of the Comic Spirit

By GEORGE MEREDITH. 5*s. net.*

"May, without hesitation, be set down as one of the subtlest, wittiest, and most luminous pieces of criticism in the English language."—Mr. WILLIAM ARCHER, in *The Westminster Gazette.*

"Mr. Meredith's is an illuminating essay which everybody must read."—Mr. G. S. STREET, in *Pall Mall Gazette.*

Some Observations of a Foster Parent

By JOHN CHARLES TARVER

Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

"If there were more schoolmasters of the class to which Mr. Tarver evidently belongs, schoolmasters would be held in greater honour by those who have suffered at their hands. His 'Observations of a Foster Parent' are excellent reading; we hope they will reach the British parent. He may be assured the book is never dull."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"A series of readable and discursive essays on Education. It is impossible in a brief notice to mention a tithe of the subjects on which he touches with much cleverness and suggestiveness, and with a humour that is seldom to be found in works of pedagogury. The book deserves to be read."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"A very excellent book on the education of the English boy. The book is one which all parents should diligently read."—*Daily Mail.*

Gustave Flaubert

As seen in his Works and Correspondence

By JOHN CHARLES TARVER

Demy 8vo. Portrait and Illustration. 14*s.*

"An enthusiastic but also critical account of the life and letters of Gustave Flaubert. The aim of the author is, as he stated in his preface, to place the personality of the novelist vividly before his readers. . . . Gradually as the work went on Mr. Tarver found its scope growing under his hands, not only as a biography, but as a critical estimate, and the result of his labour is, at the present moment, of no little value and importance."—Mr. W. L. COURTNEY in the *Daily Telegraph.*

"A book of sterling value."—*Daily Chronicle.*

"His book is a model of discretion—scholarly, just, and well informed."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"Praise alone can be given to the skill with which Mr. Tarver has made his numerous translations, which, while they read perfectly well in English, retain a distinct flavour of the original."—*Glasgow Herald.*

CONSTABLE'S REPRINT OF
The Waverley Novels
THE FAVOURITE EDITION OF
SIR WALTER SCOTT

With all the original Plates and Vignettes (Re-engraved). In 48 Vols.

Foolscap 8vo. Cloth, paper label title, 1s. 6d. net per Volume, or £3 12s. net the Set. Also cloth gilt, gilt top, 2s. net per Volume, or £4 16s. net the Set; and half-leather gilt, 2s. 6d. net per Volume, or £6 net the Set.

"This is one of the most charming editions of the Waverley Novels that we know, as well as one of the cheapest in the market."—*Glasgow Herald.*

CONSTABLE'S LIBRARY OF
Historical Novels and Romances

EDITED BY G. LAURENCE GOMME

Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d., cloth extra.

After a Design by A. A. TURBAYNE.

With Illustrations of all the principal features, which include reproductions of royal and historical signatures, coins, seals, and heraldic devices.

The first three volumes are:—

HAROLD: Lord Lytton's *Harold, the Last of the Saxons*, 1848.
WILLIAM I: Macfarlane's *Camp of Refuge*, 1844.
WILLIAM II: *Rufus or the Red King*, 1838 (Anonymous).

Boswell's Life of Johnson

EDITED BY AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

WITH FRONTISPIECES BY ALEX. ANSTED, AND A REPRODUCTION OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS' PORTRAIT

Six Volumes. Foolscap 8vo. Cloth, paper label, or gilt extra, 2s. net per Volume. Also half-morocco, 3s. net per Volume. Sold in Sets only.

"Far and away the best Boswell, I should say, for the ordinary book-lover now on the market."—*Illustrated London News.*

"Constable's edition will long remain the best both for the general reader and the scholar."—*Review of Reviews.*

The only Complete Uniform Edition of the Works of George Meredith

32 VOLUMES, DEMY 8VO. 10s. 6d. NET A VOLUME. SOLD IN SETS ONLY.

This Edition is limited to 1,000 numbered and signed Sets for sale. The First Volume contains a PORTRAIT, reproduced in Photogravure, from a drawing specially made for this Edition by JOHN S. SARGENT, A.R.A.

"Mr. Meredith's most fervent worshipper could not desire a more charming edition of his works to read and reverence."—*The Scotsman.*

"Mr. Meredith, who in generous youth gave to the world an imperishable literature, in full maturity of judgment confirms the now inalienable gift."—*The Academy.*

The Books of the Bible

IN SEPARATE VOLUMES

Printed in Red and Black. Cloth, paper label, uncut edges, 1s. net; cloth gilt, 1s. 6d. net; whole leather, 2s. 6d. net.

THE BOOK OF THE PSALMS

ST. MATTHEW | ST. LUKE

ST. MARK | ST. JOHN

Others to follow.

"Very tasteful in appearance."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"Exquisite volumes."—*The Globe.*

"The edition is very attractive."—*Westminster Gazette.*

"The idea is excellent."—*The Record.*

Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Simplicity in Christ

SERMONS PREACHED IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AND ELSEWHERE

BY THE VENERABLE

WILLIAM MACDONALD SINCLAIR, D.D.

Archdeacon of London, Canon of St. Paul's, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London, Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, and formerly Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford.

"Like all the writings of the Archdeacon, full of power and interest."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"The book contains many passages of power and beauty; Sermon xi., for example, being the very ideal of a wholesome, manly discourse."—*The Guardian.*

"Should be warmly welcomed. . . ."—*St. James's Budget.*

A Goodly Heritage

SERMONS PREACHED BY THE REV. J. H. SKRINE, WARDEN OF GLENALMOND

Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

London City Churches

By A. E. DANIELL

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS BY LEONARD MARTIN

With a Map showing the position of every Church mentioned in the book.

Second Edition. Imperial 16mo, 6s.

"An excellent account of all the churches in the City of London. . . . We entirely share the writer's enthusiasm."—*The Times.*

"Mr. Daniell's little book will be very welcome to every lover of these gems of the highest architectural art."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"It deserves to be widely read."—*Morning Post.*

"He may certainly take credit for his lucid classification of the various edifices in whose erection Sir Christopher Wren was so largely concerned."—*Daily Telegraph.*

An English Garner

VOL. VIII., COMPLETING THE SERIES, NOW READY. Large Crown 8vo, cloth, 5s. net.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR EDWARD ARBER,

F.S.A.; Fellow of King's College, London; late English Examiner at the London University; and also at the Victoria University, Manchester; Emeritus Professor of English Language and Literature, Mason College, Birmingham.

ENGLISH POLITICAL, NAVAL, AND MILITARY HISTORY, ETC., ETC.

1. JOHN LYDGATE. The Siege of Harfleur and the Battle of Agincourt. 1415. [Printed c. 1530.]
2. JOHN FOX. How the Lord Cromwell helped Archbishop Cranmer's Secretary. July, 1539.
3. JOHN PROCTOR. The History of SIR THOMAS WYAT'S Rebellion. January to February, 1544. [Printed January, 1555.]
4. The True Report of the Burning of the Steeple and Church of Paul's in London. 4 June, 1561.
5. R. W[ITC]. Against the Wilful inconstancy of his dear foe E. T. ? 1566.
6. Is. W. To her Unconstant Lover. ? 1566.
7. W. G. A Love Letter to an unconstant Maiden. ? 1566.
8. [GEORGE GASCOIGNE.] The Spoil of Antwerp. It is better known as the Spanish Fury at Antwerp. November, 1576.
9. GEORGE ELIOT. A very true report of the apprehension of that arch-priest EDMUND CAMPION and three other Jesuit Priests. July, 1581.
10. [MARV.] The Scottish Queen's Burial at Peterborough. 1 August, 1587. [Printed, 1589.]
11. THEOCRITUS. Six Idillia. Translated by E. D. [? Sir EDWARD DYER.] 1588.
12. Rev. RICHARD HAKLUYT and Captain NICHOLAS DOWNTON. The Destruction, Capture, etc., of Portuguese Carracks [Santa Cruz, Madre de Dios, Las Cinque Llagas], by English seamen. 1592-1594.
13. [GILES FLETCHER, LL.D.] Licia, or Poems of Love. The Rising to the Crown of RICHARD III. September, 1593.
14. RICHARD HASLETON. Strange and Wonderful things that happened to him in his Ten Years' Travels in many Foreign Countries. 1582-1592. [Printed 1595.]
15. WILLIAM SMITH. Chloris, the complaint of the passionate despised Shepherd. 1596.
16. R[OBERT] T[OFTE]. Laura [*i.e.* Mistress E. CARIL]. The Toys of a Traveller, or the Feast of Fancy. 1597.
17. The Merchant's Daughter of Bristow [Bristo']. ? 1600.
18. [? THOMAS DELONEY.] The Spanish Lady's Love. ? 1600.
19. Sir ROBERT CAREY, afterwards Earl of Monmouth. Account of the Death of Queen ELIZABETH; and of his ride to King JAMES, at Edinburgh. 25th-27th March, 1603. [Printed, 1759.]
20. T. M. The true narration of the Entertainment of His Royal Majesty (JAMES I.) from the time of his departure from Edinburgh, till his receiving at London. April-May, 1603.
21. MICHAEL DRAYTON. Odes, 1606 and 1619.
22. Love's Garland, or Posies for Rings, etc. 1624.
23. THOMAS, third Lord Fairfax ("Black Tom."). Short Memorials of some things to be cleared during my Command in the Army. 1645-1650.
24. A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions, during the War there. 1642-1645.
25. Cupid's Posies for Bracelets, Handkerchers, and Rings. 1674.
26. GEORGE VILLIERS, second Duke of Buckingham. An Epitaph on THOMAS, third Lord Fairfax. ? 1677.
27. W. P. Posies for Rings, or Mottoes fit for Presents. 1677.
28. [BISHOP EDWARD COPLESTONE.] Advice to a Young Reviewer; with a specimen of the Art (*i.e.* a Mock Criticism of Milton's L'Allegro), 1807.
29. W. HUNNEMAN. Old King COLE, his life and death. ? 1830-? 1837.

*** *A Detailed Prospectus of Works Edited by Professor Edward Arber will be sent post free to any address on application.*

AN ENGLISH GARNER IS NOW READY IN 8 VOLS., BROWN BUCKRAM, WITH A HANDSOME DESIGN BY A. A. TURBAYNE, IN GOLD. SOLD IN SETS ONLY, £2 NET.

Single Volumes are sold separately in the green cloth binding.

The Paston Letters, 1492-1509

Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, of the Public Record Office.

3 vols. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth extra, 15s. net.

"This edition, which was first published some twenty years ago, is the standard edition of these remarkable historical documents, and contains upwards of four hundred letters in addition to those published by Frere in 1823. The reprint is in three small and compact volumes, and should be welcome to students of history as giving an important work in a convenient form."—*Scotsman.*

"One of the monuments of English historical scholarship that needs no commendation."—*Manchester Guardian.*

The English Scholar's Library

16 *Parts are now published, in Cloth Boards, £2 1s. Any part may be obtained separately.*

		s.	d.
1.	WILLIAM CAXTON. **Reynard the Fox**	1	6
2.	JOHN KNOX. **The First Blast of the Trumpet**	1	6
3.	CLEMENT ROBINSON and *others*. **A Handful of Pleasant Delights**	1	6
4.	[SIMON FISH.] **A Supplication for the Beggars**	1	6
5.	[*Rev.* JOHN UDALL.] **Diotrephes**	1	6
6.	[?] **The Return from Parnassus**	1	6
7.	THOMAS DECKER. **The Seven Deadly Sins of London**	1	6
8.	EDWARD ARBER. **An Introductory Sketch to the "Martin Marprelate" Controversy, 1588-1590**	3	0
9.	[*Rev.* JOHN UDALL.] **A Demonstration of Discipline**	1	6
10.	RICHARD STANIHURST. **"Æneid I.-IV."** in English hexameters	3	0
11.	**"The Epistle"**	1	6
12.	ROBERT GREEN. **Menaphon**	1	6
13.	GEORGE JOY. **An Apology to William Tyndale**	1	6
14.	RICHARD BARNFIELD. **Poems**	3	0
15.	*Bp.* THOMAS COOPER. **An Admonition to the People of England**	3	0
16.	*Captain* JOHN SMITH. **Works.** 1120 pages. Six Facsimile Maps. 2 Vols.	12	6

English Reprints

No.		*Text.*		s.	d.
1.	**Milton**	*Areopagitica*	1644	1	0
2.	**Latimer**	*The Ploughers*	1549	1	0
3.	**Gosson**	*The School of Abuse*	1579	1	0
4.	**Sidney**	*An Apology for Poetry*	? 1580	1	0
5.	**E. Webbe**	*Travels*	1590	1	0
6.	**Selden**	*Table Talk*	1634-54	1	0
7.	**Ascham**	*Toxophilus*	1544	1	0
8.	**Addison**	*Criticism on* Paradise Lost	1711-12	1	0
9.	**Lyly**	*EUPHUES*	1579-80	4	0
10.	**Villiers**	*The Rehearsal*	1671	1	0
11.	**Gascoigne**	*The Steel Glass, &c.*	1576	1	0
12.	**Earle**	*Micro-cosmographie*	1628	1	0
13.	**Latimer**	*Seven Sermons before EDWARD VI.*	1549	1	6
14.	**More**	*Utopia*	1516-57	1	0
15.	**Puttenham**	*The Art of English Poesy*	1589	2	6
16.	**Howell**	*Instructions for Foreign Travel*	1642	1	0
17.	**Udall**	*Roister Doister*	1553-66	1	0
18.	**Monk of Eves**	*The Revelation*, etc.	1186-1410	1	0
19.	**James I.**	*A Counterblast to Tobacco*, etc.	1604	1	0
20.	**Naunton**	*Fragmenta Regalia*	1653	1	0
21.	**Watson**	*Poems*	1582-93	1	6
22.	**Habington**	*CASTARA*	1640	1	0
23.	**Ascham**	*The Schoolmaster*	1570	1	0
24.	**Tottel's**	*Miscellany* [Songs and Sonnets]	1557	2	6
25.	**Lever**	*Sermons*	1550	1	0
26.	**W. Webbe**	*A Discourse of English Poetry*	1586	1	0
27.	**Lord Bacon**	A Harmony of the *Essays*	1597-1626	5	0
28.	**Roy, etc.**	*Read me, and be not wroth!*	1528	1	6
29.	**Raleigh, etc.**	*Last Fight of the "Revenge"*	1591	1	0
30.	**Googe**	*Eglogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets*	1563	1	0

The Household of the Lafayettes

By EDITH SICHEL

Illustrated. Demy 8vo. Shortly.

Songs for Little People

By NORMAN GALE

Profusely Illustrated by HELEN STRATTON

Large Crown 8vo, 6s.

"A delightful book."—*Scotsman.*

"We cannot imagine anything more appropriate as a gift-book for children."—*Glasgow Daily Mail.*

"This book, in truth, is one of the most tasteful things of its kind."—*Whitehall Review.*

"Mr. Norman Gale is to be congratulated."—*Black and White.*

"A delightful book in every way."—*Academy.*

Tales from Hans Andersen

With Forty Illustrations by HELEN STRATTON

Imperial 16mo, 2s. 6d.; gilt extra, 3s. 6d.

"Very acceptable to all young people."—*Gentlewoman.*

"We congratulate Miss Stratton. . . . Excellent work."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

The Cyclists' Pocket Book and Useful Memoranda

With Telegraph Code

Cloth boards, 1s. net. Leather, 1s. 6d. net.

Leather Case, with Pencil, to contain the Pocket Book and Maps, 1s. 6d. each.

The Art and Pastime of Cycling

By R. J. MACREDY AND A. J. WILSON

New Edition, and in a large measure rewritten.

Cloth, 1s. 6d. Paper Cover, 1s.

CONSTABLE'S
Hand Atlas of India

A NEW SERIES of Sixty Maps and Plans prepared from Ordnance and other Surveys under the direction of

J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.E., &c.

In half-morocco, or full-bound cloth, gilt top, 14*s.*

This Atlas is the first publication of its kind, and for tourists and travellers generally it will be found particularly useful. There are Twenty-two Plans of the principal towns of our Indian Empire, based on the most recent surveys, and officially revised to date in India.

The Topographical Section Maps are an accurate reduction of the Survey of India, and contain all the places described in Sir W. W. Hunter's "Gazetteer of India," according to his spelling.

The Military, Railway, Telegraph, and Mission Station Maps are designed to meet the requirements of the Military and Civil Service, also missionaries and business men who at present have no means of obtaining the information they require in a handy form.

The index contains upwards of ten thousand names, and will be found more complete than any yet attempted on a similar scale.

Further to increase the utility of the work as a reference volume, an abstract of the 1891 Census has been added.

"It is tolerably safe to predict that no sensible traveller will go to India in future without providing himself with 'Constable's Hand Atlas of India.' Nothing half so useful has been done for many years to help both the traveller in India and the student at home. 'Constable's Hand Atlas' is a pleasure to hold and to turn over."—*Athenæum.*

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.